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AMERICA—A HUNTING GROUND FOR EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NATURALISTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR PUBLICATIONS ABOUT TREES*

By JUNE RAINSFORD BUTLER

ONE of the first professors of botany in Cambridge University, one Richard Bradley, in writing of timber trees in his *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening both Philosophical and Practical* says:

> There is nothing which contributes more to the Honour, Beauty, and Welfare of an Estate than timely and sufficient Plantations of Timber Trees, so I have chose to make the propagation of Timber Trees my present subject.[1]

Similarly, to borrow Richard Bradley's phrasing, and to stretch a point, the subject I have "chose" is the propagation of eighteenth-century publications about the trees of America.

The beauty and variety of plant life of North America, especially the trees, assumed an important role in English garden art during the early part of the eighteenth century. The earliest records of travellers show that they had seen with pleasure and interest what nature had placed along their route in the new country. With increased exploration and travel, the importance of the natural history of the colonies impressed horticulturists

* Read at the Philadelphia meeting, December 29, 1937.

[1] Richard Bradley, *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening both Philosophical and Practical* (7th ed., London, 1739), p. 31.

in the old world, resulting in a goodly number of worthy volumes on the subject.

One of the earliest observers of natural life in the colonies was John Lawson, a Scotchman, who came into the Carolinas as a surveyor in 1700. He met a cruel death in 1712 at the hands of the Tuscarora Indians, but lived long enough to write one of the earliest histories of the Carolinas, and his account of the plant and animal life is therefore valuable.

The title of this volume was *A New Voyage to Carolina Containing the exact description and Natural History of that County: together with the Present State thereof. And A Journal of a thousand miles travel'd thro' Several Nations of Indians, Giving a Particular Account of their Customs, Manners etc. by John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor General of North Carolina.* The work was printed in London in the year 1709, and was dedicated to the "True and Absolute Lords-Proprietors of the Province of Carolina in America." Following the dedication is Lawson's impression of life as it could be lived in the province:

> I here present your Lordships with a Description of your own Country, for the most part of her Natural Dress and there fore less vitiated with fraud and Luxury. A Country whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the Greatest Ease and Satisfaction and pass away their Hours in Solid Contentment.[2]

His *Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel* was a diary kept during a journey begun on December 28, 1700, which carried him from Charleston into North Carolina. Lawson gave full and accurate descriptions of the "vegetables" and "spontaneous shrubs," found along his path of travel. He was impressed with the palmetto-trees, which grew in abundance between Charleston and the Santee River. He said:

> The Palmeto-Trees, whose leaves growing only on the top of the tree, in the shape of a fan, and in cluster, like a Cabbage; this tree in Carolina, when at its utmost growth, is about forty or fifty foot in Height, and two foot through. It is

[2] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* . . . (London, 1709).

worth mentioning, that the growth of the tree is not perceivable in the Age of Man. The people of Carolina make of the fans of the tree, Brooms very serviceable, to sweep their Houses with.[3]

Cypresses were almost as plentiful as palmettos and he wrote at length upon the youpon which he found growing most plentifully along the coast. "It grows the most like a box of any vegetable that I know, being very like it in leaf, only dented and somewhat fatter."[4]

Like so many other early travellers in this country, he was tremendously impressed by the numerous varieties of oaks. As he travelled northward, he noticed "cedars, two sorts" and "holly, two sorts,"[5] and in addition there were "pleasant groves of the ever famous Tulip-tree, the Stately Laurel, and Bays, equalizing the Oak in Bigness and Growth."[6] According to his journal, the Carolinas abounded with luxuriant plant life.

Mark Catesby, a young Englishman, who spent a good part of the first quarter of the century in Virginia and Carolina, made many observations, notes and drawings of the natural life of the new country. These he finally brought together and published as *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, Containing the figures of birds, beasts, fishes, serpents, insects, and plants: particularly the forest-trees, shrubs, and other plants . . . To the whole, is prefixed a new and correct map of the countries treated of — London, Printed at the expense of the author, 1731–42.*

While there were certain faults in perspective in his drawings "and other niceties," this earliest book of its kind preserved a very remarkable record of the plant and animal life in the colonies.

This young man was responsible for one of the earliest of the

[3] John Lawson, *Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel* (London, 1709), p. 7.

[4] Ibid., p. 90.

[5] Ibid., p. 90.

[6] Ibid., p. 63.

eighteenth-century books devoted entirely to the trees of North America. As early as 1737 Mark Catesby wrote: *Hortus Britanno-Americanus, or, A Curious Collection of Trees and Shrubs The Produce of the British Colonies in North America; Adapted to The Soil and Climate of England with Observations on Their Constitution, Growth, and Culture: and Directions how they are to be collected, packed up, and secured during their Passage Embellished with Copper Plates neatly engraved. By Mark Catesby, F. R. S.* This was printed in London and republished in 1763 in a later edition. The preface begins:

> It will be easily imagined that . . . the territory of the crown of Great Britain on the continent of America must afford a plentiful variety of trees and shrubs that may be usefully employed to enrich and adorn our woods by their valuable timber and delightful shade; or to embellish and perfume our gardens with the elegance of their appearance and the fragrance of their odours; in both which respects they greatly excel our home productions of the like kind. . . . Nor indeed was an considerable step taken towards introducing these strangers into England till about the year 1720, since which time and through the laudable application of a few persons only, many kinds of American plants, and particularly of forest-trees and shrubs, have been procured and raised from thence; . . . By long acquaintance with the trees and shrubs of America, and a constant attention since for several years to their cultivation here, I have been enabled to make such observations on their constitution, growth, and culture, as may render the management of them easy to those who shall be desirous to enrich their country, and give pleasure to themselves, by planting and increasing these beautiful exotics.
>
> Few people have opportunities of procuring these things from America; . . . it seems proper to mention, that Mr. Gray at Fulham has for many years made it his business to raise and cultivate the plants of America . . . and that through his industry and skill a greater variety of American forest-trees and shrubs may be seen in his gardens than in any other place in England.

Catesby treats of eighty-five trees and shrubs and says:

> As this small tract is designed entirely for use, I have endeavored to contrive it in the most intelligible and compendious manner I was able.

The first tree described in this volume is the Magnolia altissima or the laurel-tree of Carolina of which he says: "Of all the trees able to endure our climate, that have yet been introduced

to England, there is none that can equal this magnificent evergreen."[7] Several varities of oaks are listed, for,

> the soil and climate of England being so peculiarly adapted to the growth of the oak, it may be reasonably expected that the various species of this tree which America abounds with, should also agree and prosper with us.[8]

A paragraph about the Dahoon holly is quite interesting. "This plant is not common in Carolina; it grows particularly at Colonel Bull's plantation on Ashley River, in a bog much frequented by alligators." Following this appears a note about the youpon: "In South Carolina it is called Cassena, in Virginia and North Carolina it is known by the name of Yapon."[9] The thirtieth section describes the sassafras-tree which

> grows in most parts of North America; its medicinal virtue is very well known as a sweetener of the blood . . . in Virginia a strong decoction of the root has some times been given with good success for an intermitting fever.[10]

The acacia with rose-coloured flowers he says is a "rare tree which has lately been procured by Sir John Colliton, Bart. from his plantation at Carolina, and flourishes annually in his gardens at Exmouth in Devonshire."[11] The next to the last tree described is the palmetto of Carolina, in reference to which he says:

> Sir Hans Sloane observes, that the name of Palm seems best to agree with this kind, because the leaf resembles a hand more than any of the other sorts.[12]

Mark Catesby's accomplishments in the field of natural history established him as an authority and he was frequently referred to by the men who followed him in this branch of science.

Christopher Gray, to whom Mr. Catesby referred as a possessor of the largest collection of American forest trees in England, published in 1740, *Magnolia Altissima*, which included a catalogue of some seventy-three American trees and shrubs "that will endure the climate of England."

[7] Mark Catesby, *Hortus Britanno-Americanus* (London, 1737), p. 1.

[8] Ibid., p. 4.

[9] Ibid., p. 14.

[10] Ibid., p. 17.

[11] Ibid., p. 21.

[12] Ibid., p. 40.

About the Magnolia altissima, Gray wrote:

> The Trunks of these Trees are frequently three feet in diameter, and of a proportionable height, they retain their leaves all the Winter. The flowers are white and fragrant, the colour of the cone or seed vessel is red with a mixture of green, and when Nature dischargeth the many scarlet seeds, they hang from the cone by white threds. This short description with the figure of Flower and Seed vessel here exhibited gives an idea I hope Sufficient to determine it the most elegant tree that has even been introduced into Europe.

Mr. Gray was one of a company of twenty men who made up the Society of Gardeners, which was formed early in the century for the purpose of furthering horticulture in its more practical aspects. These men, who lived in or around London, for the most part were nursery owners. For six years the Society held monthly meetings in Newhall's Coffee-house in Chelsea. The members were required to bring to the meetings specimens of the plants which they were growing in their respective gardens. There was a general discussion by the assembled group of the plant material, its nature and possibilities. The plants were registered and names and descriptions recorded, and these records were kept with the idea of publishing them, for the Society felt that the public would benefit from such a work inasmuch as the nomenclature of plants at the time was very vague. In less than a decade after the Society had been organized there appeared: *Catalogus Plantarum, A Catalogue of Trees, Shrubs, Plants and Flowers Both Exotic and Domestic which are Propagated for Sale in the Gardens near London . . . By a Society of Gardeners, London, Printed in the Year 1730*. The work was dedicated as follows: "To the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery." After eulogizing the Earl for being a patron of whatever intends to improve useful knowledge, the dedication closes with:

> We know your Lordship to be more judicious than to expect polite language from us whose Conversation is mostly with Speechless Vegetables. . . . We subscribe ourselves Your Lordship's Most Humble and Devoted Servants
>
> The Society of Gardeners.

Since the *Catalogus* was published so early in the century it serves as a very excellent record of the trees which were first exported to England. In it more than one hundred and fifty trees and shrubs are recorded and accurately described. The majority of these were products of the American colonies.

Just as John Lawson in his travels through the Carolinas left a valuable record of the plant life as he saw it, so Daniel Coxe in his *Description of the English Province of Carolana* in 1741 made some interesting observations of the trees which grew farther south. In it, he said:

> This Country affords excellent Timber for Building Ships, as Oak, Fir, Cedar, Spruce and divers other Sorts. . . . The most Sandy barren Parts of the Country, wherein that Tree grows which produces all those materials for Naval Architecture; the same Tree like wise produces Turpentine, which is no Contemptible Commodity. This tree being peirc'd, and a Vessel conveniently fasten'd unto or plac'd under the Aperture, the Turpentine distills plentifully into it. If cut, and a Hole made under the Tree in the Sand (for in that Soil it usually grows) the Turpentine by the Influence of the Air and Sun, without any further trouble, becomes good Rosin. Pitch and Tar are made by cutting the dry Trees into Scantlings, taking the Knotts of old Trees fallen, and the rest of the wood rotted, burning, as you make here Charcoal, covering with Turf, and leaving Orifices for as much Air as will keep the Fire from Extinguishing. The moisture partly aqueous, portly Bituminous, runs by a gentle Descent into a Pit, what swims is Tarr, which inflam'd to a certain Degree and extinguish'd is Pitch.[13]
>
> . . . This County affords Dogwood, otherwise call'd Campeche-wood . . . There are besides the woods in this country divers Shrubs and Plants whose Roots even as us'd by the Indians, dye the finest and most durable Colours, Black, Yellow, Blue and especially Red.[14]

In 1739 there was published at Leyden the first systematic enumeration of North American plants under the title *Flora Virginica.* This was the work of a native Virginian, John Clayton, who came to be known as one of the great botanists of America; he made a botanical survey of Orange County and collected and described numberless specimens of Virginia trees and plants.

[13] Daniel Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolana* (1741), pp. 92–93.

[14] Ibid., p. 94.

These he sent to Holland to Professor Gronovious, who, with the help of Linnaeus, living in that country at the time, gave them proper characters and descriptions and arranged them according to the sexual system. Clayton's friends felt that he never received his share of credit for this volume since most of it was given to Gronovius. It can be readily understood, however, that the basic work done by a mere naturalist in the lowly colonies should have been overshadowed by an European editor who was so well known. Thomas Jefferson, himself an eminent gardener, later in the century paid tribute to Dr. John Clayton in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*:

> . . . for an enumeration and scientific description (of trees and plans) I must refer to the *Flora Virginica* of our great botanist, Dr. John Clayton, published by Gronovius at Leyden. This accurate observer was a native and resident of this State, passed a long life in exploring and describing its plants, and is supposed to have enlarged the botanical catalogue as much as almost any one who has lived.[15]

Another interesting record of the tree life of Virginia in the eighteenth century was left by Rev. Andrew Burnaby in his *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759–1760*, published in London by Payne in 1775. Burnaby wrote:

> Besides trees and flowers of an ordinary nature, the woods produce myrtles, cedars, cypresses, sugar trees, firs of different sorts, and no less than seven or eight kinds of oak; they are likewise adorned and beautified with red flowering maples, sassafras trees,—dogwoods, acacias, red-buds, scarlet flowering chestnuts, fringe trees, flowering poplars, umbrellas, magnolias, yellow jasamines, chamoedaphnes, pacoons, atamusco lillies, May-apples, and innumerable other sorts; so that one may reasonably assert that no country ever appeared with greater elegance or beauty.[16]

There were numerous references in the eighteenth-century English books which indicated that many trees exported from

[15] Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (New ed., Richmond, 1852), p. 42. Notes first written in 1781. Enlarged in 1782.

[16] Rev. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759–1760* (London: Payne, 1775), p. 7.

America added to the beauty and variety of English estates. For instance, Richard Bradley in his *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening* said:

> I find that Plants of Virginia and even those of the North Parts of Carolina, will bear over Frosts, if they are managed with judgment. The Tulip-Tree, which flourishes so well in the Earl of Peterborough's Wilderness at Parson's-Green, is a Virginia plant.[17]

There were contemporaneous botanists in each geographical division of the new country. Dr. Cadwallader Colden, who was much engrossed in the turbulent political affairs of the colonies in the middle century, became an able student of the plant life that grew around his home, Coldenham, which was situated on the Hudson River above New York. Dr. John Torrey said:

> The earliest treatise on the Botany of New York was the *Plantae Coldenhamiae* of Governor Colden, published in the Acts of the Royal Society of Upsala for the year 1744. It is an account of the plants growing spontaneously in the neighborhood of Coldenham, in Orange County, and embraces only the first twelve classes of the Linnaean system.

In New England the Rev. Manasseh Cutler seems to have made the first scientific study of plants for his section when he published *Plants of New England* during the latter part of the century.

Some of the most outstanding American botanists of the eighteenth century were those who lived in and around Philadelphia. John Bartram, who still ranks as a classical figure in his chosen field, was one of the earliest in this section. Inspired by a deep reverence for natural history, John Bartram zealously labored to discover the plant treasures of the vast and unexplored continent on which he lived. At the instigation of his English friend, Peter Collinson, he began about the year 1730 to collect seeds and plants. These he sent to Collinson and other men of like interest in England and on the Continent. It was Peter Collinson

[17] Richard Bradley, *New Improvements of Planting and Gardening both Philosophical and Practical* (7th ed., London, 1739), p. 87.

who was instrumental in the practical side of the transaction, i.e., in obtaining from Philip Miller, Lord Petre and others the sum of thirty guineas to be paid annually to Bartram in return for the specimens which he sent them. Bartram must have been possessed of great energy for after collecting the plants he wrote long letters describing his finds and giving many valuable notes on their properties. In addition to Collinson, Bartram constantly corresponded with Sir Hans Sloane, John James Dillenius, J. F. Gronovius, the great Dutch botanist, Philip Miller, Dr. Sibthorpe, Dr. Solander, Dr. John Hill, as well as many others prominent in the European botanical world. His letters to James Logan, Colonel W. Byrd, Colonel Custis and Dr. Alexander Garden show that he also kept in touch with men of similar interest in his own country. This voluminous correspondence[18] is worth while and historically valuable as a record of early eighteenth-century plant life, for Bartram, according to one of his biographers, "detected more undescribed plants than any of his contemporaries in our country."

John Bartram not only corresponded with many of the better known botanists of his day but when Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist and pupil of Linnaeus, came to this country in the year 1748, there was opportunity for personal friendship and association that were mutually beneficial. Soon after his arrival in this country, Kalm made the following note:

> In the morning I went . . . to the Country Seat of Mr. Bartram which is four English miles to the South of Philadelphia. I had there fore the first opportunity here of getting an exact Knowledge of the State of the Country which was a plain covered with all Kinds of trees with deciduous leaves. . . .[19]

Kalm spent three years in this country. During that time he made his headquarters around Philadelphia, but he travelled

[18] William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (Philadelphia, 1849).

[19] Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America* (1753), translated by J. R. Forster Warrington, 1770, p. 63.

from Pennsylvania through New Jersey and New York to Quebec and back to Philadelphia through western Pennsylvania. He was a keen observer and throughout his journeys he faithfully chronicled his observations, so that when his *Travels in North America* was published in 1753, another very valuable record was added to botanical literature of the time. The trees in this country evidently made a very great impression on this Swedish naturalist, for he faithfully noted the varieties in his *Travels.* In writing of the trees around Philadelphia, he said:

> To satisfy the curiosity of those who are willing to Know how the woods look in this Country, and whether or no the trees in them are the same with those found in our forests, I here insert a small Catalogue of those which grow spontaneously in the woods which are nearest Philadelphia . . . I shall put that tree first in order which is most plentiful, and so on with the rest, and therefore trees which I have found single though near the town, will be last.[20]

He gives a list of fifty-eight varieties;[12] the first mentioned on the list is Quercus alba — the White Oak, and the last mentioned is the Annona Muricata or the Custard Apple.

While the Swedish visitor frankly acknowledged that he found much of interest in this country, he was not willing to admit that what the colonies offered was in any way superior to that to which he had been accustomed in Europe. He made the following interesting comment:

> The Trees of this Country have the same qualities as its inhabitants. For the Ships which are built of American wood, are by no means equal in point of strength to those which are built in Europe. This is what nobody attempts to contradict.[22]

Mr. Kalm was closely associated with Benjamin Franklin, as well as John Bartram, throughout his stay in the colonies and he evidently enjoyed the friendship and respected the opinions of these two scientists. He quoted them frequently in his *Journal* and the following from John Bartram is worthy of notice:

[20] Ibid., p. 65.

[21] Ibid., pp. 65–69.

[22] Ibid., p. 104.

. . . Mr. Bartram was of the opinion that the apple tree was brought into America by the Europeans, and that it never was there before their arrival. But he looked upon peaches as an original American fruit.[23]

What is believed to be "the first strictly American botanical work, that is to say, the first treatise on American plants, written by a native American, and printed in this country" appeared in 1785 when Humphrey Marshall of Chester County, Pennsylvania, published his *Arbustum Americanum.*

The *Arbustum Americanum*, first begun in 1780, and printed in 1785, is, for that day, a "useful and highly creditable performance." Although its convenience was impaired by the alphabetical arrangement under generic name, the descriptions, in accordance with the Linnaean system are "faithful and satisfactory." The full title of the work was *Arbustum Americanum: The American Grove or an Alphabetical Catologue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, natives of the American United States, arranged according to the Linnaean System, Containing, The particular distinguishing characters of each Genus with plain, simple and familiar Descriptions of the Manner of Growth, Appearance, &c. of their several Species and Varieties. also, some Hints of their uses in Medicine, Dyes and Domestic Oeconomy. Compiled from actual Knowledge and observation, and the assistance of Botanical Authors.*

To use Marshall's own words, the entire book, written in plain and familiar language since "the generality of his Readers would have been more embarrassed and confused than profited" from a work full of notes, reference and synonyms, forms a useful "Botanical Companion."

The next work devoted to American trees, published in Göttingen in 1781 by Friedrich Adam Julius Von Wangenheim, was entitled *Beschreibung einiger Nord-Amerikanischen Holzarten* and described certain of the forest trees found in America. Von Wangenheim (1747–1800) was a Hessian officer, a

[23] Ibid., p. 126.

surgeon in the employ of the King of England who fought in the War of the Revolution. In the pauses of the conflict he found opportunity to study the trees of the colonies with reference to their value for introduction into the forests of Germany. His book, illustrated with 31 plates and 72 rude figures, describes 168 trees and shrubs, all of which are classified according to the system of Linnaeus and Gronovius, and has at the end an index in German and English. The list of trees touched upon by him is notable more for its wide variety than for its intensity, for only three kinds of oaks are included.

In the year 1773, William Bartram (1739–1823), son of John, went from Philadelphia to Charleston, South Carolina. Under the patronage of Dr. Fothergill of London, he spent five years travelling through the South for the purpose of discovering "rare and useful productions chiefly in the vegetable kingdom."

Bartram was a faithful chronicler and kept a diary from the time he left Charleston, his starting point. "Early in the morning," he writes, "we mounted our horses, and in two days arrived in Savannah. . . . The day following we sat off for Augusta." From Augusta he went back to Savannah, then into Florida and as far west as Mobile. On his return from this point, while coming through Georgia, he had the good fortune to observe a new flowering tree. He remarks:

> On first observing the fructification and habit of this tree, I was inclined to believe it a species of Gordonia, but afterwards upon stricter examination, and comparing its flower and fruit with those of Gordonia lasianthus, I presently found striking characteristics abundantly sufficient to separate it from that genus, and to establish it the head of a new tribe, which we have honored with the name of the illustrious Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Franklinia Alatamaha.

Bartram "sat upon" his return homeward from Charleston. He carries his readers through every step of the journey and he faithfully records the change in the topography as well as in the vegetation as he travelled northward. When almost home he

came upon "insuperable embarrassment, the river being but half froze over." But after a couple of days, he managed to cross it, and arrived at his father's house in January, 1778.

The outgrowth of the diary he kept was published in Philadelphia in 1791 as *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive territories of the Muscogulges or Creek Confederacy and the Country of the Choctaws, Containing an account of the Soil and Natural productions of those regions, together with observations on the Manners of the Indians. Embellished with Copper Plates.*

Beyond the Allegheny Mountains the pioneers were pushing the frontier towards the West. John Filson made a valuable contribution to the history of his section when he published *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky and an introduction to the topography and Natural History of that rich and important country; also Colonel Daniel Boon's narrative of the Wars of Kentucky.* About the trees he wrote:

> . . . The Country in general may be considered well timbered, producing large trees of many Kinds and to be exceeded by no Country in variety. Those which are peculiar to Kentucky are the Sugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great plenty, and furnishes every family with plenty of excellent sugar. The honey locust is curiously surrounded with large thorny spikes, bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a sweet taste and makes excellent beer.
>
> The Coffee tree greatly resembles the black oak, grows large and also bears a pod, in which is enclosed good coffee. The pappa-tree does not grow to great size, is a soft wood, bears a fine fruit much like a cucumber in shape and size and tastes sweet. The Cucumber tree is small and soft, with remarkable leaves, bears a fruit resembling that from which it is named. Black mulberry trees are in abundance. The wild cherry tree is here frequent, of a large size, and supplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here also is the buck-eye, an exceeding soft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and some other kinds of trees not common elsewhere.[24]

[24] John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky and an introduction to the topography and Natural History of that rich and important country; also Colonel Daniel Boon's narrative of the Wars of Kentucky* (1st ed. 1784, London, 1793), p. 19.

Filson was not the only naturalist who made observations west of the Alleghenies. For almost a century, plant life from North America had become increasingly important in Europe, and it was felt that trees from the new country would be a valuable addition to the royal plantations of France. André Michaux was commissioned to go to America soon after the Revolution to find and to send home those trees and plants he considered most valuable.

He travelled in America from 1785 to 1796. The first two years he spent in New Jersey and New York. The year 1787 brought him into South Carolina where the natural conditions so aroused his enthusiasm that he decided Charleston was the place for his headquarters. A nursery was established on the Ashley River. Michaux travelled far and wide and cheerfully faced every hardship and peril of the wilderness and frontier in collecting the rare trees and plants which he sent back to Charleston as stock for his nursery. The specimens were later sent from the nursery to France. Giving freely in return for what was given him, Michaux was the first to introduce into America many of the valuable plants from Europe, and shared his knowledge of agriculture and botany with the people whom he met in his travels. The Agricultural Society of Charleston recognized the value of his services by making him a member of their organization.

A most important work about American trees, written by André Michaux, appeared in 1801, entitled *Historie des Chenes de l'Amerique* in which was a description of the species and varieties of oaks found in America. During his residence on this continent, Michaux "in order to satisfy himself, and clear up his doubts, sowed and cultivated during his residence . . . all the species he observed and collected; and the second year he had the satisfaction to discover all the varieties, which had occasioned him so many uncertainties, when he wandered over the forests."

Michaux's work on oaks, illustrated by Pierre Joseph Redouté in black and white engravings, is divided into twenty sections, under the two groupings. It is a scholarly work, giving classification numbers according to the systems of Linnaeas, Gronovius, Kalm, Miller's Dictionary, and others and contains an interesting bibliography showing that he was well versed in the work of his contemporaries, for in addition to the above, Aiton, Bartram, Walter, Marshall, Von Wangenheim and Du Monceau are mentioned. The characteristics of each species is considered in logical outline order under the headings of the height, the bark, the leaves, fructification, place found and general observations. In all, it is a most valuable work.

Michaux travelled more widely in America than any other plant explorer at the time that he lived. Perhaps the way had been cleared by Catesby, the Bartrams, and other fearless pioneers, but Michaux was equal to the opportunities, as well as the hardships, and he will be remembered as a valuable contributor to the knowledge of North American plant life at the end of the eighteenth century.

MANUSCRIPT SCHOOL-BOOKS*

By James Mulhern

AMONG the historical records of American education that have been preserved are those which may be designated manuscript school-books. The most impressive and, in many respects, the most significant of these manuscripts are those that belong to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. We have not yet seen any such books that can be placed, with certainty, in the seventeenth, although it is highly probable that there were such manuscripts in that century. As a general rule, they are the work of students, although occasionally, but rarely, they are the work of teachers.

Manuscript school-books may be said to fall into four general classes: (a) those designed to serve the purpose of text-books and which, we have reason to think, were frequently copies of printed texts, (b) exercise-books or note-books into which the student transcribed, in finished form, the solution of problems which he had worked out in the rough elsewhere, (c) student journals, in which we find, among other items, brief articles by students on questions of interest to them, and (d) the records of the proceedings of student societies. With the last two of these we do not propose to deal. It is worthy of note, however, that among the earliest examples of student journalism in America are the papers of the students of The William Penn Charter School in Philadelphia. These are to be found in the manuscript collection of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The earliest of them, *The Monthly Magazine and Literary Museum*,

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appeared in August, 1774. It was followed by the *Public School Gazetteer* and the *Public School Intelligencer*, in 1776, and by *The Students' Gazette* and *The Weekly Intelligencer*, in 1777. Among other things, these journals reveal the feelings of Quaker schoolboys regarding the political struggle of the time. They are also valuable for the glimpses they give us into student life in one of our colonial secondary schools.

Manuscript student journals and records of the proceedings of student societies are few in comparison with the manuscript text-books and exercise-books which we have seen in many places in our eastern states. The text-book type, as a general rule, belongs to the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It is of a finished character and has an air of completeness and permanence about it. The note-book or exercise-book type falls, as a rule, into the period after 1825 and it lacks the finished text-book character of the earlier manuscripts.

Many of these books have found their way into libraries and the manuscript collections of historical societies, but most of them, probably, are still hidden away in family archives, the archive being not uncommonly an old trunk of forbidding appearance which has long ago established a prescriptive right to its corner in the attic. The historical value of these old manuscripts is beyond question, and individuals, or groups, who will help to collect or preserve them will perform a valuable service. They deserve a place in the manuscript rooms of our historical libraries and in our libraries of education.

The manuscript text-books, as distinct from the note-book, appeared at a time when printed texts, in many fields, were few and, for many students, expensive and at a time when a benevolent state was not yet ready to supply its youth with free school-books. The scarcity and cost of printed texts were probably the most potent influences back of the appearance of the manuscript texts. Defects or inadequacies of printed works were not responsible for their appearance, as a comparison between the manu-

script texts and the printed texts available at the time indicates. Most of the books deal with subjects of decidedly practical character. The utilitarian studies, then as now, made the strongest appeal to parents and youths of moderate means. For one Latin or French manuscript school-book that has been preserved there are probably twenty manuscripts in such fields as commercial arithmetic and applied geometry. Why are the manuscript Latin grammars of the eighteenth century so few and manuscript texts in such subjects as navigation, surveying, mensuration, gauging, and commercial arithmetic so plentiful during the same period? Although it is probably true that there was a more adequate supply of printed texts in the field of Latin than in the mathematical fields, that fact does not explain the numerical preponderance of the manuscripts in the mathematical fields. It is a well-established fact that many of our colonial secondary schools were of the Latin grammar variety. To such schools went, usually, the sons of our colonial aristocracy. While they had public support and encouragement in some of our colonies and denominational support and encouragement everywhere, they were not popular with a rapidly increasing middle class of small shopkeepers, small manufacturers, and fairly prosperous farmers. That the supply of printed Latin texts was adequate and that the boys who attended Latin schools did not find the cost of the texts burdensome explain, probably in part, the comparative scarcity of manuscript Latin books. It is more likely, however, that the scarcity of the Latin and the numerical preponderance of the mathematical books is accounted for by the greater popular demand in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for the studies of greatest practical worth in a rapidly developing industrial and commercial society. For one student who was interested in classical literature, in the eighteenth century, there were probably fifteen or twenty whose interests were of a more practical character. Our eighteenth-century cities were well supplied with private schoolmasters who taught, as a

rule, the mathematical studies. The profit motive had much to do with that choice. That the proprietary master taught the subject for which there was the greatest popular demand is a reasonable assumption. It would not surprise me if many of the eighteenth-century manuscript school-books were sometime in the future traced to schools of private masters. It seems entirely probable that, for students of moderate means and for whom the practical studies had the greatest attraction, the cost of printed texts was an urgent consideration. To this, as a reason for the appearance of the manuscript text, must be added the inadequacy of the supply of printed texts in the mathematical fields at a time of a rapidly increasing demand for such studies. The paper used in the manuscript books is of excellent quality, and the paper binding is still good even in those that are one hundred and fifty to two hundred years old. The student must have paid half the price of a printed text for the blank exercise-book itself. If that be true, then the scarcity of printed texts was a more potent influence than cost back of the appearance of the manuscript books.

Neither scarcity of printed texts nor the question of cost, however, can be assumed to explain entirely the appearance of these books. Until a few generations ago, schoolmastering had its own exact and certain methods of procedure. In those good old days of social and educational certainties, schoolmasters knew what to teach and how to teach it, and every schoolboy knew that. That age of certainty in education has passed but it has left behind it evidence of its character. The democratic educational doctrine of interest had not yet replaced the autocratic doctrine of effort. The educational notion of development had not yet triumphed over that of discipline. In every field of subject-matter there was a fixed and definite body of knowledge seldom interesting, if the master could help it, and sometimes useless from a practical standpoint, which the student was expected to master. Nor, ideally, did schoolmasters then recognize degrees of mastery. There were just two degrees of attainment, mastery and non-

mastery, and no self-respecting schoolmaster, who took pride in his art, would permit his student to stop anywhere short of what he deemed to be mastery. There were rules, an imposing array of them, to be memorized, if not to be understood. Then there were the applications of the rules in the solving of problems in which the student had to demonstrate his proficiency. The manuscript school-books invariably follow the plan of first stating the rule, then the problem or problems, to which there is added the solution of one or more problems exactly according to the rule as stated. That was the arrangement customary also in the printed texts of the time. The rough work necessary in solving the problems was not performed on the pages of the manuscript book. It was performed elsewhere and the solution was transcribed into the book in finished form. This procedure, doubtless, some schoolmasters required. The neatness and accuracy which mark most of the books are an indication that some source of inspiration, other than the students' love of intellectual drudgery, existed and operated. That the master was one such source of inspiration is a reasonable assumption. Thus the cost of printed texts, their scarcity, the need of boys in after-school life for permanent record of the established procedures in solving practical industrial and commercial problems, together with the educational demand at the time for careful mastery of the supposed essentials in fields of subject-matter account, we believe, for the existence of nearly all such school-books.

A few of the books that have come to our attention were compiled by schoolmasters themselves and were evidently used as a basis of their instruction. It is not improbable that some of the masters' books were compiled during their own student days and were made later the basis of their own teaching.

The earliest of the student manuscript texts and note-books that we have seen is dated 1718. The latest ones of which we have personal knowledge belong to the 1850's. Those that carry dates later than 1830 are frequently fragmentary in content and

disorderly in arrangement. To attempt to adorn the tale by suggesting an explanation of the change might but distort the truth.

Witness to Utilitarianism — The practical demands of a growing industrial and commercial civilization are reflected in these books. Utilitarianism is writ large over the pages of nearly all of them. Economic needs demanded such an emphasis. Calvinism, Puritanism and sectarianism — religious counterparts of the Commercial Revolution — with their stress upon prosperity and worldly success had in all probability something to do with the bread-and-butter educational emphasis which nearly all of these books reveal. The books do not show their authors to have been preoccupied with the abstract principles of mathematics. The stress, in them, is laid, almost universally, upon the application of principles to the practical problems of life.

Subject-matter of the Books — The subject-matter of the books is, as a rule, such as we deal with today in our secondary schools. It represents now, as it probably did then, work above the elementary and below the college level. Some university and college professors and students of the eighteenth and nineteenth century have left behind them their manuscript notes and lectures but we have chosen to eliminate these from the category of school-books. In the library of the University of Pennsylvania there are, for instance, the manuscript lectures or transcripts of lectures of professors at the Academy and College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania. Arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, navigation, surveying, bookkeeping, algebra, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, logic, metaphysics, rhetoric and Greek, with their subdivisions, are dealt with in these college manuscripts. It appears from these that the professor read his lectures slowly enough to make it possible for the student to keep rather full notes or he may have lent his written lectures to students to be copied by them. Morrison in his *History*

of Harvard describes the practice of transcribing the lectures of professors there. That practice was common in universities from medieval times onwards. A comparison of the university and the secondary school manuscripts in similar fields would help us to evaluate the work in our higher institutions of the past. Eliminating the college and university manuscripts, the subject-matter of the books we are considering falls into the realm of secondary education. The arithmetic books might be said to be an exception to this rule, but an examination of them reveals that many of the problems which the students were required to solve demanded a mental maturity and an experience which we do not look for today in our elementary school pupils. As a rule, the arithmetic of the manuscripts is advanced commercial arithmetic. If we may be permitted to think for the moment of secondary education in terms of subject-matter of instruction rather than in terms of a stage of physical development reached by the student, as modern pedagogical thought would have it, we may write down the great mass of the manuscript school-books as belonging to the field of secondary education.

The subject or phases of subjects dealt with in the manuscripts we have examined in the eastern states are Latin, French, arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, conic sections, fluxions, gauging, algebra, surveying, navigation, dialing, bookkeeping, penmanship, and English grammar and composition. The books in Latin, French, English, bookkeeping and penmanship are relatively few. The commercial arithmetic books lead in number and in size. After arithmetic, in the order of importance, as determined by the space given to the subjects, come geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, gauging, algebra, surveying and navigation. A more extended investigation might change that order. The eighteenth century was the period in which navigation was most popular. Dialing, or the process of determining the hour of the day by means of a dial, was an eighteenth-cen-

tury study. Many private schoolmasters in the pre-Revolution days listed it, in their newspaper announcements, as one of the subjects they were prepared to teach.

Manuscript Latin Books — Among the oldest of the manuscript books are those in the field of Latin. In the Norris of Fairhill collection in the library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania we have a manuscript Latin grammar which bears neither name nor date, and a book on Latin verse composition, dated 1729, which seems to have been the book of one Joe Brown although other names also appear on its pages. The nameless Latin grammar is evidently a copy of a seventeenth-century printed grammar. In its form and content it resembles very closely some of the printed grammars of that century. A careful search would probably lead to a discovery of the printed original. That its content was intended to be committed to memory appears from its catechetical arrangement. Thus we have, for example, the following questions and answers:

> Q. How many genders are there.
> A. Seven.
> Q. Say them.
> A. The Masculine, the Feminine, the Neuter, the Commune of two, the Commune of three, the Doubtful, and the Epicene. . . ."

It is worthy of note that in one of the earliest Latin grammars published in Boston in the eighteenth century the number of genders of Latin nouns is given as three. Even Puritan democracy showed a concern for the simplification of instruction.

The catechetical arrangement is followed throughout our manuscript grammar. It reveals no desire on the part of the teacher to sugar-coat instruction. Indeed, in those days pedagogues were wont to defend Latin as a school study on the grounds of its tremendous difficulty. The schoolmaster of the democratic régime, with his big sympathetic heart and his love for common folk, was not yet at large. Latin grammar was, in-

deed, a strenuous exercise in colonial times and few youths had time or use for such a discipline.

Joe Brown's book on Latin verse begins with the subject of Metaplasmus which he defines as a "Figure by which the Orthography of a word is altered from its common Form," a process which he says occurs in nine different ways, all of which he describes. Most of the book deals with the rules of prosody and the actual scanning of Latin verse. It closes with a description of the nineteen forms of verse which Horace is said to have used. Such books as Joe Brown's indicate that the spirit of Ciceronianism still pervaded our eighteenth-century Latin schools.

Arithmetic Books — The earliest arithmetic book which we have seen is that of Samuel Powell which is in the library of the Library Company of Philadelphia. It bears the date 1718. In addition to arithmetic, other mathematical subjects have a place in Powell's book. The typical arithmetic book of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century is a complete manuscript text, in which arithmetical terms are defined, rules are stated, and problems are solved according to the rules. The most elaborate ones run the whole gamut of arithmetical operations: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, square root, cube root, interest, discount, commission, brokerage, foreign exchange, practice, progression, troy weight, avoirdupois weight, apothecaries weight, long measure, land measure, cloth measure, liquid measure, dry measure, time, reduction, tare and trett, the single rule of three direct and inverse, the double rule of three, barter, profit and loss, fellowship, alligation, single and double position, fractions, etc. The operation to be performed is sometimes defined or described. Thus in Isaac Norris's arithmetic, of 1774, we read: Multiplication "Readily adds into one Sum called the Product, either of two Factors called the Multiplicand, as often as there be units in the other or Multiplier." We find in John Buffington's arithmetic (1762) the use of catechetical approach to knowledge:

Q. How many parts are there in the rule of three.
A. Two. Single or simple and double or compound.
Q. What is the simple rule of three known by.
A. By those terms which are always given in the question to find a fourth.
Q. Are any of the terms given to be reduced from one denomination to another.
A. If any of the given terms be of several denominations they must be reduced into the denomination mentioned.
Q. What do you observe concerning the first and third term.
A. They must be of the same name and kind.

. . .

Q. How is the third term known.
A. It is known by these or like words what cost how much how many.'

While not all the books approach the subject through such preliminaries as these nearly all of them state the rules governing the various arithmetical operations. In Isaac Norris's arithmetic (1774), for instance, we read the rule for multiplication "Multiply the whole Multiplicand from right to left, by the Figure or Figures of the Multiplier in as many lines, each line to begin directly under its producing Figure; and to be added together." The practical application of these rules follows the statement of the rules. Apparently, the first step in the solution of an arithmetic problem was the memorization of the rule, the terminology of which must have seemed to have been the arithmetical *pons asinorum*. The rule was Greek to many boys. Cube root sometimes covers two or three entire pages of a manuscript. This, as indeed many rules in the various subjects, was sometimes thrown into rhyme. The rule for cube root in Isaac Norris's arithmetic, of 1775, runs thus:

First over Units place a point must stand
The like each third must have to either hand
Then draw an Arch as if you would divide
And place the first Cube Root on the right side
The Cube of which exactly must be set
Under first Cube that's in the Question Writ —
Then draw a line, and from the first withdraw
The Cube you've found, what rests write down below

To the right of which, next period Must stand
Which Numbers joined are called the resolvend
Then draw a line Directly underneath
Tripple Sqr of the Root, ith Quotient set beneath
In order, under the resolvend so
That units under hundreds directly go
Triple the root that's in the Quotient writ
Units against tens under the resolvend fit
Then Tripple Square and Tripple root also
Must added be Divisor for to Show
Let whole resolvend then (Save units place)
Be as a dividend in every Case
In Dividend, in Quotient set it down
Then draw another line and Multiply
The Triple Square Before Subscribed by
The Figure that's in Quotient last writ
The product under Tripple Square place it
The figure that was last set down ith Root,
Must Squared be and Multiplied to boot
By the Triple Root, that down be fore was Writ
The product under Tripple Root place it
The Figure Last in root must Cubed be
And writ under resolvend directly
Units against units, Tens in place of tens
Draw a right line under the Whole Work then
Add these three Numbers, total write below
Which total from the Resolvend truly Draw
And then proceed as you have done before
To bring down the next Cube, if you have more.

This imposing rule is followed by a simple and practical application, but we fear that the student began his study with the memorization of the rule rather than with its practical application.

Generally the problems dealt with were practical ones. For example, we have the problem in Humphrey Marshall's arithmetic: "It is required to mix several sorts of brandy at 36 cents, 60 cents and 84 cents per gal with water that the mixture may be worth 48 cents per gallon, how much of each sort must the mixture be of." Occasionally, but rarely, the problem is not very

practical. For example: "How many barleycorns will reach round the globe of the earth, which is 360 degrees, and each degree of 69½ miles." The answer to this question recorded by the student is 4,755,801,600.

Other Mathematical Books — What we have said of the general character of the arithmetic books applies as well to the books in the fields of geometry, mensuration, trigonometry, gauging, surveying, navigation, etc. The emphasis is almost invariably placed upon the application of the subject matter to the practical demands of a society preoccupied with economic pursuits. Geometry, and its various subordinate studies, are applied to a wide variety of practical problems such as the construction of maps and the measurement of many kinds of objects. The idea that geometry ought to be studied for the purpose of mental discipline was, no doubt, widely prevalent in America, as elsewhere, but there is little evidence in the books that I have examined that it was a very influential factor in fixing the content of the mathematical studies in the schools of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. There are books in which problems are quite abstract, and in which no attempt is made to point the practical implications of the study, but these are exceptional. The geometry of the books is applied geometry, and it is usually so designated. One wonders whether or not our eighteenth-century students ever heard the name of Euclid.

It is when one looks at the books as reflecting the methods of teaching then in use, rather than the content of studies, that the disciplinary character of the students' work appears. The arrangement of the material in the books is the usual one of stating the problem, citing the rule and performing operations according to the rule. The rule is usually clothed in a terminology which must have provided an excellent opportunity for intellectual gymnastics.

Almost invariably, the manuscript books contain work not in just one subject but in many subjects. The books are thus di-

vided into separate sections, each section dealing with a separate subject such as plane geometry, mensuration, surveying, gauging, navigation, etc. Let us submit as an example one of the earlier books, that of Isaac Griffiths, of 1734. The first section of the manuscript is given to trigonometry. The second section contains rules and exercises bearing upon navigation, such as plain sailing, traverse sailing, Mercator's sailing, parallel sailing and middle latitude sailing. This is followed by a section dealing with a great variety of problems in gauging. The last section of the book is allotted to surveying. It was a book that Isaac could consult in his after-school days in connection with a variety of problems. In subject matter and arrangement it represents very well the general character of the manuscript mathematical books for the next hundred years. It is neat, written in a clear and legible hand, and was apparently designed to serve all the purposes served by the mathematical text-books of the time.

Are the Manuscripts Copies of Printed Texts? — The orderly text-book character of most of the mathematical manuscripts suggests that they are copies of printed works in the various fields. In some cases they are copies not of original books but of other copies of originals. Thus we find that the manuscript algebras of Andrew Porter and Robert Brooke, contemporary Philadelphians, are exactly alike. One of these may be a copy of the other, or both may have been copied from the same printed source. The manuscript Latin grammar to which we have referred earlier is, in all probability, a copy of some seventeenth-century printed grammar. While doubt must remain, until a thorough study of the manuscripts is made, regarding the source of the material in many of them, we have definite knowledge regarding the origin of a few of the manuscripts.

In the Penniman Library of the University of Pennsylvania we have the manuscript of Jesse Green. Jesse was a schoolboy in the years 1829–1832. At the end of a section of one of his books he fortunately wrote, in big bold letters, "The End of all Men-

suration & Gauging." Somebody, probably his teacher, ran his pen through the word "all" and wrote over it "Bonnycastle's." Thus corrected, it reads "The End of Bonnycastle's Mensuration & Gauging." A comparison of John Bonnycastle's *An Introduction to Mensuration and Practical Geometry*, published by Kimber and Sharpless in Philadelphia, in 1831, with Jesse's manuscript shows that Jesse made an almost exact copy of the 252 pages of Bonnycastle. The introductory material, in the form of definitions, with which Bonnycastle began his chapters, Green did not copy. Certain details in the solution of the problems which appear in Bonnycastle were ignored by Green. With these exceptions, Green's manuscript is an exact copy of Bonnycastle's printed work. When we turn from Green's manuscript geometry to his manuscript arithmetic we find that it was a copy of a printed text. Again anxious to see the end of things, he wrote near the close of his manuscript "The End of Bennet's Assistant." We have not compared Green's manuscript with Bennett's *Arithmetic*, but it is reasonably certain that such a comparison will reveal that Green copied the printed text. Are we justified in concluding, on the basis of such limited evidence, that the manuscript school-books of the text-book type were copied directly or indirectly from printed texts? The evidence that we now have does not warrant such a conclusion. When we add, however, to the direct evidence of copying, the circumstantial evidence of the text-book arrangement in many of the manuscripts, there is created a strong presumption that they were quite generally copies of printed works. An occasional ingenious schoolmaster, we have reason to feel, compiled his own manuscript text and may have permitted a student to copy it. That, however, would occur but rarely.

Why did the students copy the printed texts? The scarcity of printed texts, at a time when there was a great demand for them, was no doubt the chief reason. To this, we ought to add the consideration of the cost of printed works which some students must

have found burdensome. Indeed, it has been within the memory of living teachers that the supply of text-books in America began to approximate the demand.

Students' Exercise-Books — As distinct from the manuscript book in text-book form, there are students' note-books or exercise-books. As we have indicated elsewhere, these books belong, as a general rule, to the nineteenth century. We have seen some that go back to the eighteenth century, but nearly all of those we have examined are nineteenth-century books, most of them belonging to the decades after 1820. By this time the supply of printed texts in the mathematical fields was probably approaching adequacy in our cities and in their vicinity. In areas farther removed from centres of text-book supply, the manuscript text was probably in use during a considerable part of the century. The manuscript books of students in rural areas have, in all likelihood, seldom found their way into our library collections. In the vicinity of our cities, however, the early nineteenth century witnessed the passing of the manuscript text-book. We have, in their place, during the first half of the century, exercise-books in a variety of subjects, such as French, bookkeeping, English grammar and composition, and penmanship. The mathematical manuscripts are no longer texts, and their number has greatly decreased. Of the eighteenth-century mathematical studies, surveying holds it place best. Among the subjects of the nineteenth-century manuscripts, bookkeeping seems to hold the first place in popularity. Some of the bookkeeping manuscripts, no doubt, were copies of texts. In the collection of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we have the manuscript of William Mahan, dated 1827, on the first page of which William wrote: "Book Keeping by single entry Extracted from the works of Charles Hutton LLD FRS." Elsewhere in this book it appears that William attended the school of one Joseph Flowers for three months, boarding during that time at Joseph Buckman's inn, where he paid five cents for each meal. The books on

bookkeeping show the students keeping day books and journals. The operations they performed were of a very rudimentary character.

The English manuscript books show students performing a variety of exercises. Thus Stephen P. Darlington, in his English composition book of 1850, performed exercises in alteration and in the use of homonyms. Among exercises in the use of homonyms are the following: "It was meet (*sic*) for him to go and meet the butcher for the purpose of obtaining some meat," and "Fain would he feign himself religious while in the fane." The exercises in alteration bear a striking similarity to some of our modern scientific tests. In Darlington's exercises, the words in a sentence were disarranged and, out of the jumble, he was required to rebuild the original sentence. For example: "Words few these in duties contained all are moral ours; By do done be would as you." The "alteration" reads: "In these few words are all our moral duties contained. Do as you would be done by." Similar exercises, as tests of intelligence, were among those of the Army Alpha test, and are among those performed in our schools today. Today they are supposed to be a measure of intelligence. What they measured in 1850 we do not know. Another mid-nineteenth-century exercise was what Darlington called the "Expansion of ideas." The following, from his composition book, is an example of the exercises:

My father sailed
My father sailed in a barque
My father sailed in a barque to England last spring

. . .

My father sailed in a barque to Greenwich in England last spring with a number of his friends from New York and saw the observatory.

There the inflation ended.

Allied to the study of English were the debates in which schoolboys engaged. Darlington has left a written record of his extemporaneous outpourings. One of them reads:

Mr President and Fellow members the subject chosen for today is which affords the greater theme for eloquence Ancient or modern times, in my opinion Mr President the ancient times afford the greater theme for eloquence, there is Rome, Carthage, Athens and all the great cities of the east What were they in Ancient times, why they were scenes of great victories, battles of great deeds and acts of valor they were scenes of bloodshed and anarchy, the greatest men among the ancients were Cicero, Caesar and Alexander, there is Greece she is one of the greatest countries in the east it was there that Alexander fought and ruled, look at Rome at the time when she was invaded by , there it was that the blood flowed through the streets and streams and caried (*sic*) the dead bodies and floated them along, but what are these places now why they are nothing more than any other cities hence I conclude that Ancient times afford the greater theme for eloquence.

The nineteenth century was one of declamation in the schools and the manuscripts throw some light on that practice as they do on so many other practices of our schools of the past.

Until now, little attention has been paid by anyone to these manuscript school-books. No one has made a systematic study of them. That they are worthy of greater recognition than they have been accorded, particularly as sources of information regarding educational practices and conditions in the past, there is no doubt. In addition to the light they throw on the economic and intellectual conditions that gave rise to them, they are also highly instructive regarding prevailing conceptions of educational values and the methods of instruction used by teachers at any particular time. But this is not all. Here and there through the books some aspects of the students' spiritual world are revealed. Said James Miller in his Cyphering Book of 1771: "When land is good it has a dale of Wood." But the spirit of the youthful arithmetician is capable of loftier flights, for he writes:

> When land is gone and money spent
> Then learning is most excellent.

A List of Some Pennsylvania Manuscript School-books — The following is a list of Pennsylvania manuscripts of which the writer has personal knowledge. In it are included some college and university manuscripts. That it may be more useful to other investigators, the location of the manuscripts is indicated. The abbreviations H.S.P. and U. of Pa. stand for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the University of Pennsylvania respectively. Where the author or date of a manuscript is not given, it has not been recorded on the original document, or is very uncertain.

Afflick, Owen: Arithmetic, 1807–1809. [Penniman Library, U. of Pa.]
Algebra, geometry and mensuration book. [Gratz collection, H.S.P.]
Allen, James: Conic sections, *c.* 1770. [H.S.P.]
Arithmetic book, 1834–1835. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Arithmetic, geometry and trigonometry book. [Penniman Library, U. of Pa.]
Arithmetic and geometry book, in German. [Penniman Library, U. of Pa.]
Bailey, Richard B.: Cyphering book, 1823. [H.S.P.]
Bailey, Robert: Arithmetic. [H.S.P.]
Blake, Joseph: Arithmetic, 1819. [H.S.P.]
Boone, James: Book of Eclipses, *c.* 1776–1780. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Boone, James, Jr.: Arithmetic, 1776. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
——— Algebra, geometry, astronomy, 1759. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Boone, Moses: Arithmetic, 1765–1767. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Boone, Moses and James: Algebra book, with some problems in arithmetic, geometry, and dialing, 1759–1760. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Borton, Susannah: Cyphering book, 1799. [H.S.P.]
——— Arithmetic, 1802. [H.S.P.]
Bron, Jacob: Arithmetic, 1810. [Berks County Hist. Soc., Reading.]
Brooke, Robert: Arithmetic, 1783–1787. [H.S.P.]
——— Geometry, trigonometry and surveying, 1792. [H.S.P.]
——— Algebra and Fluxions. [H.S.P.]
——— Trigonometry and astronomy, 1792. [H.S.P.]
——— Spherical geometry, trigonometry and dialing, 1790. [H.S.P.]
Brown, Joe(?): Latin verse composition, 1729. [H.S.P.]
Buffington, John: Arithmetic, 1762. [H.S.P.]
Burd, Miss: French exercise book, 1804. [H.S.P.]
Busch, Henry E.: Descriptive geometry and perspective. [H.S.P.]

Clipper, The, 1859. [A student journal. Wyoming Hist. and Geol. Soc., Wilkes-Barre.]
Coates, Benjamin H.: School Piece-book, 1808–1812. [H.S.P.]
Coope, John: French Exercise book, 1804. [H.S.P.]
Cope, Rachel W.: Bookkeeping, 1817. [H.S.P.]
Darlington, Stephen P.: Penmanship, *c.* 1848. [H.S.P.]
——— Bookkeeping, 1849. [H.S.P.]
——— English composition book, 1850. [H.S.P.]
——— Debate book, *c.* 1850. [H.S.P.]
Davidson, W. T.: Notes of Charles Nesbit's lectures on logic. [Miss Ella Stewart, Bedford, Pa.]
Ewing, John: Mathematics, chiefly algebra and gunnery, *c.* 1785. [U. of Pa.]
——— A Compend of Natural Philosophy, 1789. [U. of Pa.]
Furman, M.: Mensuration, 1829. [H.S.P.]
Geometry, with maps. [Cope collection, H.S.P.]
Glenn, Alvinia Bohlen: School Piece-book, 1840. [H.S.P.]
Green, Jesse: Arithmetic, *c.* 1826. [Penniman Library, U. of Pa.]
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Osborne, Catherine: Arithmetic, 1839. [H.S.P.]
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Porter, Andrew: Arithmetic, practical geometry, mensuration and gauging, 1792. [H.S.P.]
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SALESMANSHIP OF AN EARLY AMERICAN BEST SELLER*

By Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.

DURING the earliest years of our existence as a nation, the pedler flourished. From him, much later, naturally stemmed the travelling book-agent, abhorred of all householders, and embalmed in humorous journalese as well as home-grown profanity. Between these two types of venders arose men who blended their practices, who, sensing the public's need of useful or inspiring books, started out, each in his own way, to supply them.

One such individual is the subject of this paper — Noah Webster, Jr. — who, facing the rigors of contemporary travel, went to and fro on the littoral of the eastern coast. He started from Hartford on May Day, 1785, when, presumably, his young senses were so alert that his mother had no need to "wake and call" him "early." For though former trips had taken him through New England as far as Portsmouth, and through New York and New Jersey to Philadelphia, none had been so momentous to him as this.

While teaching school and studying law he had compiled in three parts, a portentously named *Grammatical Institute* — with much else besides in their titles. In plain English a spelling book, a grammar and a reader, the first two of which, locally in New England had already won a decided market, and aroused as well a good deal of equally decided published censure and controversy. Having instigated or profited by the copyright laws

* Read at the Philadelphia meeting, December 29, 1937.

passed in certain states, Webster, with a Yankee's inborn eyesight for the main chance, now went forth to obtain the same protection for authors in other states, and also to spread a knowledge of his own works.

Shipping some of these by water to Charleston, and travelling himself by boat, stage or horseback, he passed rapidly for those days, to Baltimore, whence he presently diverged to Alexandria. There, he made the first entry in his *Diary* of meeting legislators in the successful hope of enlisting their support for a state copyright law in Virginia.

Back again in Baltimore he shortly sailed for Charleston and there, so far as is recorded, began those activities for pushing his books into notice, which eventually became a life-long pattern. He registered them for copyright, he advertised them, and the first newspaper announcement of his donation of them is found: "Three hundred copies . . . by the ingenious Mr. Webster to the Mount Sion Society for the benefit of Winnsborough College." Webster's own entry in his *Diary* of his gift — the equivalent then in public credit of a million dollars or so today — is followed immediately by another brief jotting, perhaps indicative of his pardonably expansive mood: "Read a little book called Kisses."

Five years later he offered to Yale a premium on the Connecticut sales of the *Institute*, the proceeds to be given as a prize, at the annual examination in May, to the student — or Bachelor — "author . . . of the best Treatise on Ethics, Moral Philosophy, or Belle Letters [*sic*]"; the conditions ruling out a duellist or seducer. Again in 1804 to the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences and to the Missionary Society of that state he offered an annual gift from the sales of his *Speller*, *Selection* or *Elements of Useful Knowledge*, the latter society, at his request, relinquishing the grant after one year.

Let us return to Webster's 1785 Baltimore adventure. He broadened his methods for making his works and himself known by opening relations with the postmistress of the town and the

publisher of the *Maryland Journal*, depositing with both some of his school-books for sale; he also worked up a singing class, and began a course of lectures, repeated, with manifold changes, during the next two years of his wanderings. These were planned especially to arouse interest in the English language and so to carry forward his announced purpose of creating a uniformity of pronunciation throughout our country, thus helping to weld it into a nation.

Very early he had sought a hearing in the press, his projected schools or actual text-books having been advertised by him from 1782 on, interspersed with many articles on public questions. In this connection — when he was still quite young — he expressed his opinion of journalistic writing as futile, along with his intention of renouncing it. Thereafter, with an inconsequence worthy of many an older and wiser head, he continued persistently to contribute to such for over fifty years, not to mention five years devoted to the founding and intensive editing of his own daily.

He had been quick to perceive that newspapers gave him an extremely valuable method of broadcasting, and for this purpose he used them throughout his life — anonymously, pseudonymously and over his own name or initials. By 1785 he had grasped and even pointed out in one of his articles in the newspaper controversy between him and the critics of his first editions, that their censures were inviting interest in his books and so increased their sales. Quite as in these days, modernistic plays — swallowed elsewhere without gagging, but pronounced by the censorship of Boston to be too rank for that town's palate — inevitably draw overflowing houses to the neighboring Dorchester performances.

From his earliest years, of which there is any authentic record, Webster's social instincts were very strong; wherever he might roam he sought out for converse people or personages — official, prominent, insignificant or otherwise — exchanging opin-

ions, debating public concerns and discussing questions of syntax and so forth. Though by these habits, he made himself greatly disliked for egotism and "push" by many of his contemporaries — less energetic, active-minded, or ambitious than himself — he was on the other hand instructed, encouraged and apparently liked by many older men, among them those not likely to "suffer" bores or upstarts "gladly." In any case, whether for praise or blame, until his more absorbed later life, he everywhere sought out friends and acquaintances; possibly soliciting, certainly receiving, aid from them in his aims. In partial measure, they helped to supply the thing we call "publicity" which is usually twin-brother to "propaganda," while in the use of both he himself grew with years to be adept.

Thus it came about that, besides his own recurrent journeys for lecturing and placing his books, as well as his widespread advertisements in the press — often of great length and particularity — he frequently received aid from his friends and associates, who at odd times wrote comments and "puffs" on his works.

His own broadsides and circulars are legion, announcing, outlining, praising and pushing his books. Made up largely with scissors and paste-pot, they offer not the least alluring by-paths to a researcher. In his competitive or didactic contemporaries they produced rages approaching apoplexy.

It should not be assumed, however, that Webster had early conceived such a plan for marketing his books. It seems more just to deduce that — as is the case in most human careers — his latent traits produced a procedure which in turn gradually reinforced them and so his course was laid for many years to come.

In this age, when regularly employed and paid agents for influencing public opinion are an understood though not an announced factor in the economy of life, would it not be invidious to cavil at the similar methods of this active young aspirant for success? In the field of endeavor for himself which he had

chosen, albeit also with an ardent desire for service to his nation, Webster used such aids as came within his reach, some of which at least were probably tendered him voluntarily by his friends.

None the less, the going was not always easy. On account of his crying need for ready cash to carry out some of the projects of his teeming mind, by 1788 he had sold for smallish sums to several printers the rights to publish his increasingly popular speller. Those firms made handsome profits, yet Webster found himself complained of and accused by them of irregularities in their contracts. It lacked still two years before the enactment of a Federal copyright law was to straighten out many legal tangles, but until that was done it is only fair to state that, on the evidence of private or published letters or of threatened law-suits, his strict honesty of intention cannot be questioned. Rather, it appears — to borrow the Britisher Burnand's phrase, when describing his own schoolboy-play in the game of cricket — that Webster was "far more shinned against than shinning."

For instance, while over a period of years he and Hudson and Goodwin were hindering — as far as they could — Samuel Campbell's deals in New York with Nathaniel Patten of Hartford, for quantities of cheap editions of his speller in order to undersell its accredited Connecticut publishers, William Young in Philadelphia was grumbling at Webster himself and informing him that Campbell had printed an edition of fifty thousand just before his rights had expired. Yet this same Young was, with his partner John M'Culloch, already playing his own little game. For, after printing by right, in 1787, Webster's drastic revisions of the three parts of the *Institute* — while knowing well that their compiler was absorbed elsewhere (trying to make a success of his *American Magazine*, or later printing his *Dissertations* and his *Essays*) —Young issued two different abridgments of the *Grammar*, solely for the benefit of his own pocket. Both books bore the sales-value of Webster's name, or that of the *Institute*, in their titles, and in the preface of one Young even

apologized for taking, "in the author's absence . . . the liberty" of printing his own version.[1]

These bare-faced poachings were not his first offense, for under the title of *An Introduction to the History of America*, he had already "lifted"— as the charitable word is for an uglier one — a very large section *verbatim* from his own edition of Webster's Third Part, which included some of the latter's original writing. In what he selected, the two books are typographically identical page by page, save for a single slight deletion and the necessary alteration in each page-number throughout. Of this larger book which was so whole-hoggishly plagiarized, one copy seen has an "Introduction" signed by M'Culloch, to whom in consequence, the compilation has been usually attributed; while in two other copies this is lacking. In successive editions of the work, issued by Young up to 1808, Webster's material was included (though in ever-decreasing amounts), and always without acknowledgment. So far as ascertained, the victim had no inkling of these graftings of his slips on another's plants for, in his correspondence during those twenty-one years there has not been found a reproach, nor even a hint that he might share in the book's proceeds. Ergo, when, with a view to Young's own skillful marksmanship, his complaints of Campbell's sharp-shooting practices are examined, little sympathy is due him. It is clear that

> Pot and kettle
> Were of the same metal.

So, as we survey Webster's life-long methods of extending the sales of his books by travel, frequently on horseback with saddle-bags, and in later life by carriage trips, we should at the

[1] Thanks to a letter recently supplied by Henry Ford's Edison Institute this statement is now modified, for, under date of March 14, 1788, Webster replied from New York to Young's "proposal" and "request" that he abridge the *Grammar*, and "set about it immediately . . ." Evidently his absorption in editing *The American Magazine* and in his other irons in the fire prevented. This explains, if it does not altogether exculpate, Young's taking matters into his own hands, and issuing *An Introduction to English Grammar* in 1788 without, so far as is now known, notifying Webster.

same time keep in mind other men's voyagings under the *Jolly Roger*. These were early and often developed by some of the printers to whom licenses to issue the speller had or had not been sold. For example, even as early as June, 1788, Webster addressed a letter to a Vermont firm, challenging them directly for having printed one edition without his knowledge, and another without any notice or offer to come to an agreement. No scintilla of even a fragment of such editions — one even, reputedly, of 2,000 copies — has come to light, so, but for other letters of the same year in which the firm are definitely styled as "Proprietors," the question would be raised whether this particular complaint of Webster was well-grounded, or merely expressed his touchy attitude because of well-attested wrongs already endured. Throughout his long life it is a proven fact that his textbooks were continuously and successfully bootlegged like the coal mines of today.

The revisions of his speller for a new copyright in 1804 created a fresh set of difficulties, for, against his protests, various printers continued for years to issue the old version often in very inferior formats. Later, in 1829, the same effect followed a like cause when his *Elementary Spelling Book* was brought out.

It is to be hoped that letters may yet come to light, to settle doubts on questionable editions and other points. It would be most helpful to Webster's bibliographer if several still untested conjectures and inferences could be brought out into the clear noon-light of certainty, and the plea is made for any data whatsoever about him or his works.

While absorbed in the task of putting to press his large dictionary of 1828, Webster could not give the time and attention needed to revise his *Spelling Book* for its renewal of copyright, so the task was entrusted to others. Thus were sown dragon's teeth which left many a scar on him during the remaining fifteen years of his life. Other compilers of school-books sprang up and though sometimes borrowing from his work, proceeded — in

order to push their own sales — to gore him where he had made himself most vulnerable, through inconsistencies in orthography between the new version of his speller and the various abridgments of his dictionary. As the war of words and factions grew hotter and these newcomers found some favor, he turned his attention to the Mid-West. In that wide and rapidly developing region, which had shown its strength in joining forces with the south to place Andrew Jackson in the White House, Webster and his publishers were quick to perceive the great possibilities of large sales and of influence over the coming generations — a point on which he himself always dwelt with passionate zeal. So his only son was sent thither as agent. That problem-adolescent, grown but not matured to man's estate, was shortly caught in the toils by his own weak nature and a tricky partner, as well as by the financial crash of the 1830's.

But this disappointment was not the whole story. For, after this attempt to capture new markets, the old-time unscrupulousness among printers disclosed itself. There is strong evidence of several ultra-montane editions of the speller, whose cash returns obeyed natural rather than moral law, by declining to flow uphill over the Alleghenies. And soon competitors in the new empire pushed Webster aside.

Actually, the prolonged piracies of his spelling book — always his main bread-winner — measurably extended its use, and thus was subserved one of his chief aims — that of creating a national language. So, by such wholesale pilferings, what was a loss to his pocket was a gain to his patriotism.

While we cannot but sympathize with the man whose thin skin winced with reason at these depredations, enjoyed without returns to him, the only returns desired by us of today are best expressed by the French word *revenants*. We crave a sight or something more definite than hearsay, of a number of such ghostly editions, reputed to have been published, or merely sold with the imprint of a new place added to their title. There are

clues to a number, leading to six or seven towns of New York and New England, five in the old South, and six in the Middle West, besides one each in Oregon, New Orleans and Montreal.

To any one who is interested or helpful, detailed lists will be gladly sent if names and addresses are supplied.

Of the millions of the "blue-back spellers" printed, how few comparatively remain! Where the infant-students mutiliated or slew their thousands, the good huswif-mother slaughtered her tens of thousands. Here and now let it be urged that all youthful book collectors confer the favor on posterity of not selecting a mate dedicated to the demon of neatness.

Of course, the hope may always be cherished that from unforeseen quarters, there may yet emerge many little torn, bethumbed, dog-eared books; scribbled in, tear-stained, and daubed over by children's color sense, but none the less bearing sufficient signs for tracing their dynasties. All will be welcomed as fossils, and some even honored, as diminutive hitherto "unknown soldiers" in the battles of education, or unsung martyrs in the cult of bibliophily.

BOOK-TRADE PUBLICITY BEFORE 1800*

By CHESTER T. HALLENBECK

THE importance of the study of book distribution as an approach to the interpretation of the culture-patterns of an age has become axiomatic with historians. Research scholars more and more are turning their attention to early library records, book catalogues, and other similar materials in an effort to determine what books circulated in a given period, how widely they were disseminated, and to what extent they were influential in moulding thought. The problem is large, and the means of solution varied and not without certain elements of romance. In the background is the figure of the publisher and the bookseller who, though frequently ignored, has been to no small degree responsible for shaping the tastes of the reading public. It is with the various methods which he was employing in the latter years of the eighteenth century to dispose of his wares that I am here concerned.

Evidence for the majority of my statements is derived from the correspondence and other records of Mathew Carey, who in 1785, at the age of twenty-five, established in Philadelphia a publishing and bookselling business which by 1800 had placed him among the foremost of his profession in America. Carey's was but one of many such enterprises founded in this period of rapid industrial and economic expansion. However, in so far as his practices do not appear to have differed greatly from those of

* Read at the Philadelphia meeting, December 29, 1937.

his fellow publishers, it seems safe to assume that what is said here in regard to his devices for publicising and circulating his books will apply, in general, to the trade at large. Carey's business developed, as did that of the average eighteenth-century publisher, along two fairly distinct lines, the publishing and marketing of his own books, and the distribution of those from other presses, foreign and domestic. Although the advertising methods used in the two branches were often closely related or even identical, there were yet sufficient differences to make it seem advisable to treat them separately.

I wish to consider first the means by which Carey advertised and circulated his own publications. In January, 1787, after two years of editing and printing a newspaper, he launched *The American Museum*, a monthly periodical which was his first important publishing venture. Interest in the new magazine was created by proposals inserted in the Philadelphia newspapers, and printed separately as circular letters. The first issue was announced in the newspapers on the day of its appearance, and for several days thereafter. Knowing that he could not depend on local support alone, Carey soon made arrangements with book dealers in Boston, Worcester, New Haven, New York, Baltimore, Charleston, and Savannah to act as subscription and distribution agents. Through them, sometimes at his own expense and sometimes at theirs, he had advertisements for the *Museum* placed in their local papers.

Carey early recognized the necessity of making personal contacts in such sections of the country as seemed most promising for the sale of his magazine. He accordingly made at least three long excursions, covering the territory from Boston to Richmond in an effort to secure new agents and to canvass for new subscribers. On entering a new community, he first approached the gentry in order to secure their names at the head of the local subscription list, and to obtain from them letters recommending the *Museum* to the more cautious citizens. The subscription list was

then left in the hands of an agent with instructions relative to the distribution of the monthly numbers. From time to time Carey sent representatives to prod lagging agents, and to open up new fields. In 1789, when the career of both the *Museum* and its editor was threatened with financial ruin, his younger brother John was dispatched on a subscription hunting campaign out through Pennsylvania, and then south into Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Despite a weakness for fancy clothes and fine riding horses, John succeeded in procuring enough paying subscribers to carry the ailing periodical through the crisis. By 1790 Carey had over fifty agents — printers and booksellers, postmasters, general merchants, and private individuals — located in cities and towns from Halifax to Georgia, to whom he was distributing from ten to one hundred and fifty copies of the *Museum* monthly.

On the cover of each magazine Carey was accustomed to paste a small strip of paper containing the printed name of the subscriber. A friend in New York commented favorably on this procedure:

> You shall read with Attention, a Pamphlet left at your Lodgings with your address upon it, which otherwise you would have neglected. It becomes more immediately yours, you have an Interest in it.[1]

At the conclusion of each volume of six numbers appeared a list of the subscribers' names, a trick of the trade long popular in England and America as a polite form of flattery. The effectiveness of this subtle publicity device is evident from the loud protests received when names were inadvertently omitted. But perhaps Carey's most brilliant, and what he certainly regarded as his most successful, stroke of advertising was the securing from George Washington, John Dickinson, William Livingston, and eight other prominent men, letters recommending the *Museum* as a periodical worthy the support of all patriotic Americans.

[1] MS. letter, Nathaniel Hazard to Mathew Carey, New York, 28 July 1788, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

I believe [said Washington] the American Museum has met with extensive, I may say, with universal approbation from competent judges: . . . I will venture to pronounce, as my sentiment, *That a more useful literary plan has never been undertaken in America, or one more deserving of public encouragement.*[2]

The priceless endorsements were incorporated in full column advertisements in the principal newssheets of the New England, middle, and southern states, and printed as circular letters to be rushed to his agents for distribution. Referring to these letters, Carey wrote to a correspondent in New York: "I mean to disperse thousands of the enclosed in every direction or point of the compass; . . ."[3] Disperse them he did, to Halifax, down the coast to Savannah, and west to the Ohio Valley; to St. Croix in the Virgin Islands; to Dublin, Glasgow, and London.

The methods employed by Carey in advertising and circulating his other publications were in general similiar to those we have seen in operation for his magazine. In the case of more ambitious projects, such as his American edition of Guthrie's *A New System of Modern Geography*, he endeavored to protect himself from possible financial loss by circulating printed proposals and subscription blanks before putting the work to press. Outside Philadelphia, he depended mainly upon his *Museum* agents for the distribution of subscription sheets and the collection of subscription money in the outlying districts, and through them he advertised the proposed work in newspapers of the principal cities and large towns. At times he employed even ship captains, stage drivers (when he could find an honest one), and private travellers who had volunteered their services, to ensnare subscribers. His travelling book agents, of whom more will be said presently, scoured the rural sections with subscription blanks. A reciprocal agreement among members of the trade whereby

[2] See *The American Museum, or Universal Magazine*, IV (1788), reverse of title-page.

[3] MS. Letter, Mathew Carey to Nathaniel Hazard, Philadelphia, 14 August 1788, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

printers and booksellers acted as receiving agents in their localities for subscriptions to works being printed by any publisher in the country, enabled Carey to distribute the products of his press in places where he maintained no regular agents.

A great many of Carey's publications, however, did not enjoy the benefit of an extensive advertising campaign. Works involving a relatively small investment were advertised in the Philadelphia papers and on the covers of his magazine during its six years of life. In accordance with a practice quite common to the trade, specimen sheets and even sample copies of newly printed books were sent to the larger booksellers and to other prospective customers. For text-books he solicited the interest of college and school officials, presenting them with free copies, and requested his agents to canvass their local school authorities. Frequently the needs of the moment dictated distribution measures. When he rushed through the press his own account of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 in Philadelphia, Carey depended little on advertising for the disbursement of the first edition, merely speeding off bundles of the pamphlet to his agents and to other booksellers on the assumption that rumor had already created a demand for an authentic story of the calamity. During the theatrical season of 1794 he engaged "itinerant stationers"[4] to hawk in the playhouse his reprints of song-hits from the plays then performing — a maneuver with a distinctly modern touch!

Of prime importance to Carey in the moving of his own publications was the system of the "book exchange." Its workings were simple but effective. When, for example, Carey wished to secure some of the stock of David West in Boston, he would send to West a printed or perhaps a manuscript list of books with which he was abundantly supplied; West would reply with a similar list. By agreement, the two men checked off the titles

[4] See MS. letter, William Rowson to Mathew Carey, 12 March [1794], in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

they wanted, to the extent, say, of five hundred dollars, and thus exchanged their books without the necessity of a financial transaction. Evidently large quantities of books were in this wise shuffled back and forth over the country, sometimes bound, but usually in sheets to reduce freight costs.

The other branch of Carey's business, that of wholesale bookselling as distinguished from book publishing, involved, as has been suggested, a few additional advertising methods. Here again his *Museum* agents served as the principal avenues of distribution. As opportunity offered, he established new connections, so that before the end of the century he was regularly supplying books to nearly one hundred dealers. His business arrangements with his agents varied somewhat. The majority of them, particularly those in cities and large towns, worked on a commission basis, only a few purchasing their books outright from him. In order to encourage the sale of American publications he allowed a larger profit on works from his own and other domestic presses than on imported books. To a few merchants in distant and virgin territory who wished to try their hand at bookselling, he sent what he termed "ventures" of books on trial. If they sold well, he shipped more; if not, he usually ordered them to be auctioned by the agent, rather than pay the return freight. In 1794, he wrote to a Mr. Birney in Danville, then a frontier village, stating that he was shipping him a box of books and requesting him to arrange for their disposal.

> The prices [Carey stated] are all my retail rates. Your profits & commissions you will draw from the advanced price at which you will sell. . . . I incur all the risk of transportation, and of failure of sales.[5]

Birney kept the books, and replied:

> . . . I am well satisfied with the terms you mention and shall do My Endeavour to Make the Remittances Satisfactory to you[.] I am Convinced they will answer a Good purpose here as nothing of the Kind has ever been at this place before . . .

[5] MS. letter, Mathew Carey to [J.] Birney, Philadelphia, 20 October 1794, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Books on Religion is very much used in this Country and should you at a future period Send a further Supply to this place let the Most of them be of that Description[.][6]

The small town and rural book agents were the backbone of Carey's business. In 1795, when he was seeking longer credit from the British booksellers with whom he dealt, he explained that the "back country traders, on whose punctuality our remittances must always depend" had failed him.[7]

In his transactions with his agents, Carey made constant use of a well-known publicity feature of his day, the book catalogue. Although it appeared in a variety of forms, its function was of course to attract attention to the contents of a bookshop, and as an advertising medium it seems to have been universally employed. While Carey was publishing the *Museum*, he resorted to the clever device of stitching a pamphlet catalogue, containing sometimes twenty or more pages, inside the covers of the magazine, thus distributing hundreds monthly to his subscribers. Copies went also to his dealers from which they could choose supplies. To assist them in advertising their own stock, Carey made a practice of printing catalogues especially for them whenever he shipped them new consignments of books. These catalogues, none of which I have as yet been able to find,[7a] were apparently broadsides, for he advised his agents to fold and mail them to their customers, suggesting in addition that they have them reprinted in their local papers. This request was, I have found, sometimes complied with, particularly when the dealer

[6] MS. letter, J. Birney to Mathew Carey, Danville [Kentucky?], 24 January 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[7] See MS. letter, Mathew Carey to G. Barclay of London, Philadelphia, 23 December 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also MS. letters, Mathew Carey to P. Byrne of Dublin, Philadelphia, 7 June 1795, and Mathew Carey to Messrs. Duncan of Glasgow, Philadelphia, 9 December 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[7a] Ten of Carey's eighteenth-century catalogues, including one broadside, are at the American Antiquarian Society. ED.

was also the publisher of the paper. In December, 1792, Grammer and Withers of Petersburg, Virginia, notified Carey that they had received the two boxes of books which he had shipped to them.

> You mention [they added] having some printed Catalogues which were not ready by the last opty. which we think woud be well to forward by the first conveyance as we rely mostly on demands from a Considerable distance for Sale of our Books, the greater Part of the State of No Carolina trade here and there is no Book Shop in this Place except ours & but very few Books imported by the Merchs. here.[8]
>
> I have enclosed a catalogue for you to print [said James Arthur of Chestertown, Maryland, in 1795] and I have reasons to think that a printed list will help the Sales greatly.[9]

In January of the same year, Timothy Brundige, one of the most successful of Carey's early agents, wrote from Dumfries, Virginia:

> I am in hopes in the Spring the Sale of Books will revive a little again; I am informed the People 30 and 40 miles up the Country are somewhat disposed to be prity Liberal in buying Books, . . . In the Spring we will make tryal with the circulation of New Cattelouges, in hopes that will be advantageous . . .[10]

A week later he reported:

> . . . in a short time expect to be more at Leisure whin I shall make out a list of the Books that you may have a New Sett of Catelouges printed finding them very serveciable in this Country.[11]

and early in February he requested that four or five hundred be printed.[12] From Brundige's insistence upon the need for cata-

[8] MS. letter, Grammer and Withers to Mathew Carey [Petersburg, Virginia], 5 December 1792, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[9] MS. letter, James Arthur to Mathew Carey, Chestertown [Maryland], 1 July 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[10] MS. letter, Timothy Brundige to Mathew Carey, Dumfries [Virginia], 18 January 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[11] MS. letter, Timothy Brundige to Mathew Carey, Dumfries [Virginia], 25 January 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[12] See MS. letter, Timothy Brundige to Mathew Carey, Dumfries [Virginia], 8 February 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

logues, one may conclude that this form of advertising must have played no small part in the development of his extensive business.

Carey and his agents grasped at every opportunity to dispose of books. Knowing that on election days and during the periods when the state legislatures and county and circuit courts met, potential buyers would be present, Carey was careful to have the dealers well furnished with legal treatises, political pamphlets, histories, and other appropriate works. Book exhibits were arranged at meetings of professional societies, and text-books, from spellers to Latin grammars, were held in readiness for the opening of schools. In the spring, and after the fall harvests, when the country people made regular pilgrimages to the market centers to purchase supplies for the summer and winter, Carey and his agents were prepared for them with a varied assortment of literary fare. This seasonal speed-up was not indeed unlike that to which we are accustomed at Christmas.

Of all Carey's publicity and circulating mediums, probably the most picturesque, and certainly not the least productive, were his travelling booksellers, who carried with them subscription blanks and sample copies of Carey's imprints, together with a goodly collection of other books, domestic and imported. Undoubtedly the best known of these itinerant salesmen was the ubiquitous Mason Locke Weems, to whose activities in the middle and southern states Carey owed the success of some of his most ambitious undertakings in publishing. But Parson Weems, whose correspondence has been so ably edited by Mrs. E. E. F. Skeel, was only one of several travelling agents in Carey's employ. In 1795 one David Clark was sent south to canvass on foot for subscribers to Carey's edition of Goldsmith's *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, and to peddle A. J. Dallas's *Features of Jay's Treaty*, a pamphlet published by Carey. On 30 August he wrote:

. . . am now within 30 miles of Alexandria [.] I have sold some of the treaties on the road and Procured a few Subscribers for Goldsmith &c[.] I go into every house on the road but many of the Country people are Entirely unaquainted with the treatie or any thing respecting it.[13]

The adventures of the travelling agents, their following the circuit courts from town to town, their setting up of temporary book shops to test out new territory, their exchanging books for butter, eggs, fire-wood, salted fish, riding equipment, and even horses and coaches, all of which they reported in their letters to Carey, would provide material for an important chapter in the history of the development of book circulation in America.

It has not of course been possible to consider here all the publicity practices of the book-trade. Something might have been said, for instance, about the book review, or about the use in advertisements of extracts from English reviews to further the reputation of a book newly imported from abroad. But sufficient evidence has been offered, I hope, to demonstrate the fact that in the late eighteenth century the American publisher and bookseller was aware of the advantages to be derived from publicity, and that he was energetically pursuing a varied program not limited to urban centers but covering the country with a network of distribution lines that cut deep into the rural sections and reached out to maintain contact with the receding frontier.

[13] MS. letter, David Clark to Mathew Carey, Whellens Creek [Virginia?], 30 August 1795, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

HOW BENSON J. LOSSING WROTE HIS "FIELD BOOKS" OF THE REVOLUTION, THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE CIVIL WAR*

By ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

A BRIEF sketch of Lossing's early life is necessary for a complete appreciation of his *Field Books*. He was born on February 12, 1813 at Beekman, New York. His parents were small farming folk and when his father died, Lossing was apprenticed to a watchmaker in Poughkeepsie. This was at the age of thirteen; so he received something less than a primary school education. But Lossing had a spark. By the time he was twenty-two he had become joint editor and proprietor of *The Poughkeepsie Telegraph*, and shortly afterwards he joined in the production of a literary fortnightly, *The Poughkeepsie Casket*. He also learned the art of wood-engraving and in 1838 he moved to New York, first for a brief period of study at the National Academy of Design, and later to establish himself in the business of wood-engraving. His literary and artistic activities kept on apace. Among his outstanding contributions were *The Family Magazine* for the years 1840–1841, *An Outline History of the Fine Arts* for Harper's Family Library, *Biographical Sketches of the Signers of the Declaration of American Independence*, *The Lives of the Presidents* and *Seventeen Hundred and Seventy-Six, or the War of Independence*. This last, a children's history, appeared in 1847.

* Read at the Kansas City meeting, June 14, 1938.

It is necessary to keep in mind that these were essentially commercial ventures and that at this time, self-made man that he was, Lossing was under the necessity of making a living. Why, then, did he undertake such a project as *A Field Book of the Revolution*? A large part of the answer may be found in his desire to make money. But there was something else.

In June, 1848, Lossing was travelling between Greenwich and Stamford. The road passed into a small valley and there Lossing noticed a stone stairway cut into the face of the valley wall. He asked an old man in the vicinity the purpose of the stairway. This was explained and more, for the patriarch was one Ebenezer Mead, an officer in the Connecticut militia during the closing years of the Revolution. He recounted to Lossing how he had seen Putnam escape down that very stairway from a party of British Dragoons during Tryon's raid in 1779. I quote Lossing:

> This incident and its associations made a deep impression on my mind. I had been brought suddenly into the presence of animate and inanimate relics of the old war for independence, both of which were fading away and soon to be seen no more on the earth forever. I felt an irrepressible desire to seek and find such mementoes of the great conflict for freedom and independence, wherever they might exist, and to snatch their lineaments from the grasp of Decay before it should be too late.

Here is the key to the *Field Books*. A modern cynical age may dismiss this as romantic balderdash. This is not so. Lossing at heart was an antiquary. He had more than his share of that sentimentalism which is so necessary to a happy appreciation of our American past. His method of working gives ample proof of this.

On his way back to New York Lossing evolved his plan for a *Field Book of the Revolution* and the next day it was submitted, together with a few trial sketches, to Harper and Brothers. (I am happy to say that those same sketches remain in his family.)

How did Lossing collect his facts, and where did he get them? His printed and manuscript sources were those of any other his-

torian, and I shall dismiss them with a few words. One thing does stand out. The footnotes of this self-educated man indicate a surprisingly wide range of historical reading in both general and particular works. I might add that Mrs. Helen Johnson, Lossing's daughter, assured me that her father carried on an extensive correspondence with the other historians of his day. His letters and footnotes give ample proof of this.

The facilities of such an institution as the Clements Library were not available to Lossing, nor did he go to England. His use of manuscripts, then, was rather one-sided in the sense that he was unable to study the British half of this material. It is essential to keep this in mind while considering his work on the Revolution and the War of 1812.

This brings us to the most interesting aspect of Lossing's work, the contribution which sets him apart from the average historian. It is at this point that Lossing, the antiquary, enters my story.

The mainspring of Lossing's plan was an extended tour throughout the eastern states in search of survivors and mementoes of the Revolution. Harper and Brothers agreed to finance this project, and Lossing spent the greater part of five months in 1848–1849 visiting the battlefields of the war. I wish that I might capture some of the flavor of Lossing's journeyings, but he describes them with such color in the *Field Books* that I can but recommend it to you.

He was indefatigable in his search for localities and objects of historical significance. He went over the ground of every battlefield. He sought out houses or taverns that might have served as headquarters. He inspected churches and delved for tables, chairs, bells, campaign chests, anything and everything that carried back to the Revolution. And he obtained the stories of all these things from people who knew them intimately.

His methods of obtaining facts are interesting. If there were a local historian in the vicinity, Lossing would visit him. Mrs.

Johnson told me that one of her father's strongest traits was curiosity. You may well imagine what Jeptha Simms or Samuel Eager must have experienced when Lossing called. Failing a local historian he would call on the leading citizen of a town such as Jonathan George Washington Trumbull of Norwich. A man of Trumbull's ancestry could supply him with a wealth of information, and what is more, introductions to the oldest inhabitants. Then too, there were many occasions when he stumbled upon a survivor by chance. An excellent example of this was his meeting with old Isaac Rice, the self-appointed custodian of Fort Ticonderoga. Here is the most human aspect of Lossing's fact finding, but it is essential to keep one thing in mind. Practically all these patriarchs played but minor roles in the war. There was Jonathan Harrington, a fifer at Lexington. He was only sixteen at the time, and the intervening seventy-four years had clouded his memory. Much of this information must be relegated to the field of tradition and folklore.

It took the better part of two years for Lossing to organize his material. It was at this point in his career that Lossing refused a lucrative partnership in the printing business and turned whole-heartedly to history. In this regard it is interesting to note that in the original proposal submitted to Harper and Brothers he had planned some six hundred illustrations. By the time the work was finally published, this number was almost doubled. Then too, there is a letter to Dr. O'Callaghan of the New York State Library,

> I have been obliged to extend the "Field Book" beyond the limit assigned, for the material is so ample, that with all the descrimination which I possess, I cannot use the most important matter in less than 25 or 26 numbers. I have gone into fuller details of the Southern Campaigns as well as the Civil operations in the South, than the general historian is wont to do. It is an exceedingly rich field, for in many districts every plantation has its stirring history. Why, in South Carolina alone, there is sufficient unwritten revolutionary history, to make a dozen volumes.

These are the words of a student in love with his work. It is interesting to note here that Lossing was the first of our modern national historians to do justice to the South.

The *Field Book* was published in thirty parts during 1851–1852 and met with such success that Lossing immediately projected a similar work covering the period from the Revolution through the War of 1812. There is an interesting printed broadsheet in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Here Lossing set forth his plan for a *Field Book* of the War of 1812. It bears the date, January, 1852. I quote a portion of it for the light which it throws upon Lossing's methods:

I. Is there any locality in your vicinity, made memorable by an historical event? If so, what is it? Near what city, village, or post office is it? and by what public conveyance can it be reached?

II. Have you in possession, or are you cognizant of unpublished documents of historic value, which may be copied wholly or in part, for publication in my work? If so, what? and how may copies be obtained?

III. Are there any veterans of the War of 1812, reliable as traditionary witnesses, residing in your vicinity? If so, what are the names of the most reliable, and their addresses?

IV. Have you in possession, or do you know of any pictorial sketches of military movements; fortifications; particular localities, such as battle grounds, headquarters of officers, &c. &c., of the War of 1812? And may they be copied for publication in my work?

V. Do you possess, or can you furnish a brief biographical sketch of any man or men distinguished in the War of 1812, which has not yet been published? If so, of whom?

These questions are necessarily of a general nature. I shall feel grateful to you for any historical information that may suggest itself to your mind.

From this time until the end of the Civil War Lossing worked intermittently on this book, saw two more editions of the Revolution through the press, published some ten other large historical or biographical works including a history of the Civil War. His *Field Book of the War of 1812* appeared in 1868.

In general the pattern of this work follows the *Field Book of the Revolution* and his methods of working were identical. How-

ever, we may note a few striking differences. The chronology of his work on the Revolution was based upon his travels, and these in turn occupy a large portion of the book. The chronology of his *War of 1812* follows the regular sequence of history, and while Lossing travelled extensively in his quest for facts, his experiences receive only slight mention.

There is also a marked difference in the type of person whom he saw and the quality of information which he obtained. There were many survivors of the War of 1812, survivors who had played a relatively important part in that war. Thus he was able to talk with such men as Lewis Cass, Charles Gardner (a major on the Niagara frontier in 1813–1814 and author of the *Dictionary of the Army*), and Commodore Tattnall who witnessed, at a safe distance, the burning of Washington. Men of this caliber could be relied upon for fairly reliable information, and their memories were refreshed by letter books and diaries. There were so many people like this that Lossing all but assumed the role of an interviewer and reporter.

The tendency reached its climax in Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the Civil War* which also appeared in 1868. During that contest he was armed with *carte-blanche* passes from Lincoln, Stanton and Wells. He bore letters of introduction to almost every important officer in the Northern service. At the close of the war he travelled all through the South this time with passes from Grant and General Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau. Every facility was placed at his disposal and for the first time he was able to gain a fair view of the manuscript sources of both sides. Thus he recalls to Edwin Greble in a letter from Richmond dated March 23, 1866, "It is the building, you remember, of the Rebel Adjutant-general's Department, where Dreer and I delved, you may remember, in heaps of 'Confed. Docs.' 6 feet deep."

This brings us to the illustrations wherein lie a fair portion of the value and charm of the *Field Books*. Lossing obtained this

material in four ways. Many of the pictures and maps were copied from contemporary sources. Lossing's curiosity in material of this sort is illustrated in a letter to Dr. O'Callaghan. I quote:

> My attention has been called to some maps in the State Department referred to in a pamphlet which gives a list of them. I write to enquire whether the one of the "Battle of Long Island" referred to on p. 292 as having been done by a British artist; or those mentioned on pp. 273–74, 190, 271 and 269, giving plans or views of the Narrows and vicinity, are, in your judgement, of sufficient consequence to warrant a trip to Albany to make drawings from them for my work. It has occurred to me that there may be some old views of scenery or buildings, as vignettes upon these maps, that might be of interest.

He also made use of modern prints and drawings, and I may note here that he gave credit to the original artist when credit was due. The daguerreotype served its purpose. Rather than submit an aged person to a prolonged sitting, Lossing often made use of this quick method of obtaining a likeness. Then too, many of his Civil War illustrations were based on photographs. But the best pictures, far and away, came from his own pencil. There are some thirty-three hundred illustrations in the *Field Books*. Less than a third of these are initial letters and head- and tail-pieces. Of the remainder, I should say that over half represent scenes and people that Lossing himself saw.

His method of working was thus. He travelled with a camera lucida and a portable drawing-board both of which remain in the family. A picture of the latter with its tripod forms the initial letter of Chapter XVIII of the *Field Book of the Revolution*. First he would make a preliminary pencil sketch. This would be shaded with pen or brush and so completed would serve as the basis of the woodcut. During the early part of his career Lossing cut many of the blocks himself, but as the historical pressure increased, this work was turned over to his firm, Lossing and Barritt.

I have it on good authority that Lossing ranked with any contemporary artist in his use of the pencil. What concerns us here

is his accuracy. His original sketches show painstaking care and in many cases bear notes upon the exact dimensions of the pictured object.

In the appraisal of any historian it would seem to me that two things stand out, the reliability of his facts and his interpretation of those facts in terms of historical significance. Lossing's letters indicate that he made every effort to seek and determine true fact and this to the smallest detail. Here is a letter to Horace Webster regarding the burning of Charlestown:

> Respecting Clinton's being accompanied by troops, when he joined Howe, as a volunteer before the last or 3rd attack, I am not so certain that my statement is wholly in error, although the word reinforcement may be a little too strong. Some authorities simply state that "Clinton joined Howe as a volunteer," and others that, "Clinton with a few followers, cross'd over in boats and joined Howe, etc." It seems to me probable that he would not have gone over unaccompanied. Still it may be so. Will you oblige me by giving me the authorities which seem to your mind to be conclusive on that point.

As regards his historical judgment, I know that he was held in high regard by the historians of his day. Lyman C. Draper's desire that Lossing join him as collaborator in a history of the West offers fair proof of this.

But what exactly is Lossing's place in all the field of historical writing? Other men had delved in the nooks and crannies of our past, and by and large their interest had been centered upon some particular locality. The nation was Lossing's field, and his interest was essentially national. To him the back country of Georgia held as many thrilling potentialities as his own Hudson Valley. And what is more important, he caught so many things and so many people before time and progress had taken their toll. The reconstructed Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg stands today as testimony of our debt to his painstaking search for information, his historical perception and the accuracy of his work.

MICROPHOTOGRAPHY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY*

By KEYES D. METCALF

I MIGHT well spend most of my time in giving definitions of the two terms used in my title. I shall not do so, but will content myself with very brief statements about them. Microphotography, as far as this paper is concerned, deals with the copying by photographic methods of printed or manuscript material in very much reduced scale onto paper or film. Bibliography is regarded simply as the listing and description of books and MSS. My subject might then be expressed something like this: How can copying in very much reduced scale of printed or manuscript material be of help in listing and describing books and MSS?

To give a background to my talk and to orient it in our minds, let me speak first about the place of microphotography in other phases of library work than bibliography. It is generally conceded that it will be used extensively by librarians in the place of the original of books and MSS. There are at least three types of material which it is now apparent will be copied in this way. First, newspapers because of their bulk and the rapid disintegration which takes place in them due to the wood-pulp paper on which they are printed. Second, rare books and MSS. which cannot be obtained in any other way, or at least cannot be obtained at a reasonable cost. English books before 1550, which are now being copied by Edwards Brothers of Ann Arbor, are a good ex-

* Read at the Kansas City meeting, June 16, 1938.

ample of this type. In this group material already in a library may be micro-copied and the reproductions used in place of the originals in order to prevent wear and tear on the latter. Third, books and periodicals which in the past would have been borrowed on inter-library loan, and those which librarians would like to have borrowed or to have lent, but which on account of their value could not safely be used in this way.

If material of the three types just noted are copied on a large scale on film in libraries this is in itself a matter of great bibliographical importance. It means that books and MSS. which could not otherwise be found in libraries will become available and may be studied from a bibliographical point of view.

Going on now to our topic — microphotography and bibliography — we can perhaps obtain some indication of the effect of the former on the latter by a study of what older photographic methods have done for bibliography. The type of photography most largely used in libraries in recent years is the photostat. What has the photostat done for bibliography? It has been used on a fairly large scale for copying complete books, pamphlets, and MSS. It is expensive for this work — ten cents a page and up — and so can be used only for material of special importance. But it has proved particularly useful for copying title-pages and single or groups of important pages for study and comparison with others. It has been used to copy bibliographies, catalogue cards and lists of various kinds. Will microphotography take the place of the photostat for these functions? It will, only if it is nearly as or more satisfactory than the photostat, and at the same time cheaper. For the moment let us leave cost out of the consideration. I think we will all agree that unless the physical bulk of photostat reproductions is so great as to become a burden, as is the case in newspapers, they are preferable to film. Why? Because storage with the exception just noted presents no new problems, reading does not require special equipment, and comparison between two or more photostat pages is much easier and

more satisfactory than comparison between two pages on film. We have not as yet, at least, provided a reading machine in which two pages, each from a different film, can be seen at the same time. In the case of card records, it is possible to interfile photostat reproductions in card form. It is not readily possible to interfile film records without splicing, and under present methods that is slow, expensive, and inconvenient. I think it fair to say, then, that microphotography, other things being equal, is not as satisfactory as photostating and will take its place only if it is decidedly cheaper. This brings us to a discussion of the cost of the two processes. Is microphotography cheaper; and if so, why and under what conditions and to what extent?

Photographic costs may be divided into two main groups: First, the materials. Second, the labor to use the materials and to bring about the finished product. The material cost for a positive or negative photostat print, 11½ x 14 inches in size, of two pages of an averaged-sized book come to about five cents. The material cost of the same reproduction on film is a small fraction of one cent. If the material cost alone were to be considered, microphotography would have a tremendous advantage over film. Let us study for a moment the labor cost. It falls into two groups: First, the labor in the operating room — that is the actual photographic work, exposing, developing, drying, etc. — and second, the labor of getting the material ready for photographing, taking the volumes off the shelves, and returning them, and the clerical work of handling the order and the resulting bill. For the former, the work in the photographic operating room, the cost for photostats is practically the same for one exposure as for film. Five cents is a fair figure. The clerical work is, of course, the same for one as for the other — ten cents for the first exposure, let us say. For one exposure, then, film costs come to approximately fifteen cents, and those for the photostat to twenty cents. This is not sufficient advantage on the side of film to make its use seem advisable. An advantage in favor of the microfilm comes only when

the order is for a large number of pages. There the labor cost for film in the photograph room is considerably less than that for photostat, due to the number of reasons that need not be gone into at this time, and there is the added advantage that the results in the case of film, coming all in one roll, are easier to check and make ready for the customer than photostats where each exposure results in a separate sheet. For ten exposures from one volume photostat cost might be estimated as perhaps four times that of film, and for one hundred exposures, fifteen times. These are rough estimates, but serve to illustrate my point. It seems clear that microphotography has a real financial advantage over the photostat if the work done is on a quantity basis. It does not have a great enough advantage to make it worth while, if only a single page or a few pages are copied.

With this as a backgrond, we are finally ready for our problem. How will microphotography be used in connection with bibliography? In my opinion it can and often should be used for the copying of whole books as distinguished from single pages; for copying long bibliographies and catalogues that are now either in book or card form. Let us consider these types of use. First, the copying of whole books for bibliographical purposes. If we have in a library one copy of a book with which we may wish to compare another copy that may vary from it, and the second copy is unobtainable except through photographic reproduction, it will not be found inconvenient to work with an original placed beside a reading machine showing a film copy. If especially close examination of certain pages is required, it is always possible to enlarge onto photographic paper from the micro-copy. Such an enlargement has the same weakness that any photographic reproduction has: it does not give an opportunity to compare the texture and the feel of the paper used in the original. But here is an opportunity for the use of film for bibliographical purposes on what may become a fairly large scale.

The second use is for copying bibliographies and catalogues

now in book or card form. For an illustration of the former, let us take the old British Museum Catalogue. It is out of print, and with a new edition coming along, will of course not be reprinted. If permission from the British Museum authorities could be obtained, a film reproduction could be made for perhaps $200. Many of us, if we had no copies, would be only too glad to pay that for one on film. Need I go farther to show the use of film for the reproduction of printed bibliographies?

Coming now to card catalogues. The possibility of the use of microphotography in the preparation of Union Card Catalogues has been demonstrated in Philadelphia and elsewhere, although some of us may not be convinced that the methods chosen would be the most satisfactory if labor were not provided by the WPA. In these cases it was used as an intermediate step and not as a finished product. I have already spoken of the weakness of film copies of card catalogues, the practical impossibility of interfiling and so keeping or bringing them up to date. As we all know, the only real excuse for a card catalogue is the readiness with which it is kept up to date. However, if a copy of the catalogue is wanted, and the catalogue is only available in card form, it is possible — yes, easy — to copy it onto film with the cameras now available, and the work may be done comparatively inexpensively. On a large scale the cost of the first copy is perhaps one-tenth of a cent a card, which when compared with the two cents or more which it costs to reproduce by photostatic methods or by typewriter shows that it is well worth considering. Other problems remain, however, before it is safe to recommend the adoption of card catalogue reproduction on film on a large scale. They deal with its use in reading machines. Catalogues of any kind to be satisfactory must be consulted with ease, and better ways of loading film into projectors and rapid, perhaps push-button methods, of finding one's place are practically prerequisites. These problems are not insurmountable though they have not yet been overcome.

One last warning about film reproductions for bibliographical purposes. We should always remember that film is a photographic process, not a printing process, and the material cost of the finished product is a much larger percentage of the total cost than with printing, because film or photographic paper costs much more than regular book paper. This means that at least with mechanical developments now in sight the one hundredth film copy is not much cheaper than the second; while in printing there is little except the very slight paper cost to be considered in the one hundredth copy. Microphotography is a small edition process and probably always will be. If we want one copy of a catalogue of a million cards, film is the only possibility. If we want five hundred, it should not be even considered.

Summing up, then, microphotography is not in my opinion a cure-all. It is not going to change our bibliographical methods; it is not a satisfactory process to use in copying single pages or in making short runs; it is not practicable for anything but small editions. On the other hand, for long runs and small editions it is immensely cheaper than anything else so far discovered, and can and should be used for bibliographical purposes in connection with the reproduction of books, pamphlets, and bibliographies and catalogues in card form.

ANTI-MASONIC NEWSPAPERS, 1826-1834*

By MILTON W. HAMILTON

IN the fall of 1826 there occurred in the western part of New York state an event which was to have widespread significance in the social and political life of our country. The mysterious disappearance of William Morgan as he was about to publish a book revealing the secrets of Freemasonry, was looked upon as evidence of a conspiracy on the part of Masons, which was repugnant to religion and morality and calculated to undermine our free government. A movement against secret orders was begun, which gained strength from certain religious groups, and which put Masonic lodges on the defensive. To obtain the desired reforms the movement became political, and the Anti-Masonic party was organized. The active rôle played by this party in state and national politics is familiar to all students of our political history.

From its beginning Anti-Masonry was linked with the press. At about the same time that Morgan disappeared, an attack was made upon the printing office of his printer, David C. Miller. The office was set on fire, and the printer was mobbed and so maltreated that it was necessary for his son to bring out the next issue of his weekly paper, the Batavia *Republican Advocate*.[1] This paper then took up the cry against the abductors of Morgan, therefore against the Masons, and became the first Anti-Masonic newspaper. Subsequently it retailed the search for

* Read at the Chicago meeting, December 29, 1938.

[1] Batavia *Republican Advocate*, Sept. 15, 1826.

Morgan, the various clues and theories of his disappearance, and the course of the legal investigation.

Other papers in the vicinity followed suit, notably the *LeRoy Gazette* early in 1827. New periodicals made their appearance with the sole purpose of exploiting the issue. One such was *The Morgan Investigator*, the first number of which came from Miller's office in March, 1827; another was the *Rochester Balance* of about the same time. A virtual trial by newspaper was begun.

Now a new factor was injected into the situation. If the evil in Masonry was its secrecy, the remedy was more light, more information and publicity. And when desired revelations were not forthcoming, Masons were accused of suppressing facts, or of curbing publication, and the Anti-Masons clamored for a "free press." Many newspapers, they declared, were controlled by Masons who prevented the truth from being published. Furthermore, even Anti-Masonic printers were being proscribed.

Thurlow Weed was an example. He had written a paragraph in the Rochester *Telegraph* referring to the responsibility of Masons for the disappearance of Morgan. Subscribers complained, his partner, who was a Mason, confronted him with the Masonic vows as inconsistent with his article, and the partnership was broken. When Weed tried to get employment on newspapers in Utica and Troy, however, he found that his obnoxious article had preceded him, and he was a *persona non grata*. He thereupon returned to Rochester, got an old press and some financial support, and brought out the *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, which soon became a leader of the Anti-Masonic prints.[2]

Early in 1827, when the New York legislature voted down a resolution for the investigation of the Morgan affair, the movement became political, and a new use for the Anti-Masonic press was discovered. A campaign was begun to elect members of the legislature who would be favorable to the movement, and in 1828

[2] Thurlow Weed, *Autobiography*, pp. 213–215.

a convention at Utica, according to the historian of the party, "advocated the establishment of 'free presses' and other means of spreading the 'blessed spirit.' "[3] This suggestion was acted upon, and in September, 1828, the *LeRoy Gazette* reported that there were nineteen such "free presses" in New York state. Weed, the principal architect of the party in the state, was accused of intriguing with the administration party and of receiving its funds to start Anti-Masonic newspapers. Under his shrewd direction the party seemed to have a bright future in state politics.[4]

The importance of the press was again stressed in the state convention at Albany, February 25, 1830, when it was claimed that 32 of the 211 newspapers in the state were Anti-Masonic. The convention also discarded the Albany *National Observer* of Solomon Southwick (a repudiation of his leadership), and provided for the establishment of the *Albany Evening Journal*, to be edited by Thurlow Weed.[5] Henceforth this paper was the leader of the party press. Strategically located to direct the party in the state, and ably conducted, the *Evening Journal* grew in power and authority. Other printers and editors followed its leadership; and some political leaders of Anti-Masonry became editors. Among the latter was such well-known figures as Frederick Whittlesey of Rochester, William H. Maynard of Utica, Myron Holley of Lyons, and Henry Dana Ward of New York.

As local Anti-Masonic committees appeared they launched projects for party newspapers. In December, 1829, the *Republican Advocate* carried a notice that, "An Anti-Masonic paper being much wanted in the County of Tompkins, the subscribers take this method of calling the attention of Antimasonic printers

[3] Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party," *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association (1902), pp. 372–375.

[4] Ibid., pp. 278–383.

[5] Ibid., pp. 393–394.

to this section of the State. Any gentleman of competent abilities to conduct a press, would receive from 500 to 1000 subscribers, with a portion of advertising."[6] As a result of this offer the *Ithaca Chronicle* was begun the following March. In a like manner the local committees established in Chenango County the Norwich *Anti-Masonic Telegraph*,[7] and in Utica the *Elucidator*, with an editor, Beriah B. Hotchkin, imported from LeRoy in the "infected district." Thus where new territory was to be invaded a printer was subsidized, or an editor was introduced.

Soon Anti-Masonic editors were pointing to the list of party prints as an indication of the growing strength of the movement. In the first number of his *Evening Journal*, March 22, 1830, Thurlow Weed published a list of sixty-eight.[8] Furthermore, his columns frequently noted the establishment of new presses in New York and other states. Under such captions as, "Anti-Masonry Going Down," "More Light," or "A Sign in the West," these were intended to refute the slurs of hostile critics. Other papers also printed lists and notes of the progress of new establishments, which, needless to say, are of great value for the bibliographer.[9]

The remarkable growth of the press in neighboring states is revealed by a comparison of these lists.[10] Pennsylvania in Weed's

[6] Batavia *Republican Advocate*, Dec. 25, 1829.

[7] See the *Norwich Journal*, Dec. 24, 1828, for reference to this activity of the committee.

[8] This included for New York, 31; Pennsylvania, 18; Ohio, 8; Vermont, 4; Connecticut and New Jersey, 2 each; and Rhode Island, Michigan, and Alabama, 1 each.

[9] See especially those in the Hamilton *Civilian*, Nov. 23, 1830, the Oswego *Free Press*, Aug. 25, 1830, the *Troy Watchman*, Aug. 10, 1831; and an unidentified clipping for 1831. These are not, of course, to be relied upon implicitly, but are suggestive, and indicate the complexion of many little-known papers.

[10] The total count for each year from the exact data of the bibliography gives slightly more than these figures. This shows New York to have had 9 Anti-Masonic newspapers in 1827; 23 in 1828, 32 in 1829, 46 in 1830, 52 in 1831, and 42 in 1832. These figures also take into consideration successive titles of the same paper, which would raise the count.

list of March, 1830, had but eighteen Anti-Masonic papers; but in August of that year the list in the Oswego *Free Press* gave forty-two, one more than was claimed for New York. In April, 1831, however, the count for Pennsylvania had risen to fifty-seven, while at the same time New York trailed with forty-nine. In Ohio the eight papers listed by Weed had increased to nine in August, and in the following year to eleven. In no other state was there such an increase as in Pennsylvania.

The growth of Anti-Masonry in Pennsylvania was due to a number of factors, but there can be no doubt that the press was one of the most significant. Several persons, in fact, have claimed credit for introducing Anti-Masonry by way of the press. In the New York convention of 1830 William H. Seward said that a native Pennsylvanian returning in 1827 from his residence in Genesee County, New York, with a copy of the Batavia *Republican Advocate* in his pocket thus introduced the "blessed spirit." In 1828, however, Weed's *Anti-Masonic Enquirer* was circulating extensively in Pennsylvania; and in the previous year efforts had been made to establish a press. Frederick Whittlesey of Rochester went into the state as an organizer, and as he was himself an editor was no doubt active in that connection.[11]

The introduction of Anti-Masonry into Ohio was attributed by Seward to an "editor . . . [who] by invitation, went with only his printing materials from the city of New York, and commenced an Anti-Masonic paper in Portage County." This was Lewis L. Rice, previously the editor of the New York *Anti-Masonic Beacon*, who on January 6, 1830, began the Ravenna *Ohio Star*.[12] New England was a fruitful field for Anti-Masonry, the response being most notable in Vermont, although the Anti-Masonic newspapers there were less numerous; while in the West there was an outstanding organ of the party in the *Western Emigrant* of Ann Arbor, Michigan Territory.

[11] McCarthy, op. cit., p. 429.

[12] Ibid., p. 526.

The peculiar character of these newspapers is well known to students of the movement. Sometimes with such titles as "The Elucidator," "Free Press," "The Lake Light," "The Luminary," "Censor," or "The Phoenix" they proclaimed their principles, or their optimistic belief in the cause, while many carried the term "Anti-Masonic" at the masthead. Their columns abound with reports of party conventions, resolutions, and letters regarding Masonry, to say nothing of the voluminous reports of the Morgan trials. Editorials were often personal and vitriolic to the extreme, frequently involving editors in suits for libel. While the editors were often excellent writers, this aggressive attitude helped to sustain interest by constantly stirring up both friends and foes. As the movement grew, to be sure, some papers became lukewarm in their Anti-Masonic ardor, while others, perhaps because their editors were indifferent writers, did little but republish party literature.

The influence of the Anti-Masonic press might be figured by multiplying that of the single paper with the numbers listed, but such a procedure would be quite unsatisfactory. There was great variety in both circulation and clientele. A map study representing the locations of these newspapers shows the great majority to be rural establishments in the more backward or less well-developed regions. Western and central New York, then in the early days of rapid growth just after the passing of the frontier, western Pennsylvania, likewise far removed from populous centers, and southeastern Pennsylvania, more densely populated, but solidly German with an evangelical fear of secret organizations, were the principal spheres of Anti-Masonic influence as indicated by their printing establishments. Most of the Anti-Masonic newspapers were weeklies, and few were of more than local importance with circulation beyond county limits, so it was intended that each county should have its own press. The principal exception to this rule was the *Albany Evening Journal* in the state capital, which Theophilus Fenn's

Pennsylvania Telegraph in Harrisburg tried to emulate. The relative weakness of the party organs in New York City and Philadelphia emphasizes this generalization.

The bibliography of Anti-Masonic newspapers should be of value in several ways. By supplying the number of newspapers in a given year, and by giving whenever possible the date at which the paper espoused the cause of Anti-Masonry it will furnish the historian with exact data on the growth of the movement and the influence of the press. This is of especial importance since the press at this time was just beginning to be utilized for an effective propaganda among a democratic electorate. And it is worthy of notice, too, that the press was largely responsible for the considerable advances made by the first "third party" movement in American history in the election of 1832.

In giving facts concerning the ownership and management, editorial changes, and details of publication for each title the bibliography furnishes material not available elsewhere. The fact that many Anti-Masonic papers were short-lived, rural prints renders this listing more important. While it makes the task of the bibliographer more difficult, he has the satisfaction of cultivating a virgin field. Hitherto unknown or unrecorded imprints have been brought to light, and facts have been discovered about some newspapers which are as yet unrepresented by any known or listed imprint.

Finally, it may be considered a contribution to the history of journalism, for the story of American journalism cannot be fully told if the rôle of the smaller newspaper is not considered. These Anti-Masonic newspapers may represent but a fraction of the journalistic activity of their day, but they should not be neglected. If similar treatment is accorded other groups of newspapers the recently published *Union List* of American newspapers will be supplemented and corrected, and its existence as a bibliographical aid will be more fully justified. It is only as an humble effort toward these ends that this study is presented.

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS
1826–1834

New York

All papers listed are weeklies, unless otherwise designated. The place of publication has been put in brackets, where it does not appear in the title, to preserve the alphabetical arrangement. A paper begun before 1826 is indicated by a dash preceding that date; one which continued after 1834 has a dash following; otherwise inclusive dates follow title.

In giving locations of files the key employed in the *Union List* of newspapers is followed. That is, the library is designated by a letter, or series of letters, as follows: the first letter designates the state, if alone the state library (e.g. *N* is the New York State Library); the second letter indicates the city or village in the state (where there is more than one with the same initial, a third lower case letter is the key), and if followed by no other capital letter indicates the public library (e.g. *NN* is the New York Public Library); and a third capital indicates a special library in the city (e.g. *CSmH* is the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and *MWA* is the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.); *U* indicates University, and *Hi* the historical society in a location or state. A few libraries not given in the *Union List* have been listed by following the same scheme (e.g. *NWaHi* is Jefferson County Historical Society, Watertown, New York.

Exactness in bibliographical details as well as in holdings of libraries has been the aim of the compiler, but he realizes that gaps and errors may appear, and he will be glad to receive any corrections or additions. For assistance in the compilation he is indebted to many libraries and librarians, to whom this blanket acknowledgment is made. A more explicit recognition is due, however, for the generous aid and encouragement received from Mr. Joseph Gavit of the New York State Library and Dr.

Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society. For any shortcomings the compiler alone is responsible.

[Adams] *Censor*, 1828–1829.

Established July 1, 1828, by Theron Parsons, and listed as Anti-Masonic Sept. 3, 1828. Removal to Watertown was announced in the issue of Mar. 17, 1829; but according to Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 374, it was removed Jan. 27, 1829, and Enoch Ely Camp was then editor, and was connected with it from the beginning.

MWA Jl 22, 1828, Mr 17, 1829.

Albany Evening Journal, 1830–1834–.

Daily and semi-weekly. Established Mar. 22, 1830, by B[enjamin] D. Packard & Co., edited by Thurlow Weed, as the organ of the Anti-Masonic party. With the issue of Dec. 7, 1831, it was published by Packard, [Chauncey] Webster & [Benjamin] Hoffman; with that of Dec. 30, 1831, by Packard, Hoffman & White; but the issue of May 18, 1832, announced the death of Benjamin D. Packard, and that of June 8, 1833, gave the publishers as Hoffman & White, who continued through 1834. Thurlow Weed remained as editor through this period.

CSmH Ag 25 1830. *CtY* Ag 11 1830– S 27 1832; Ap 27, O 12, D 11 1833; Ap 2, Je 20 1834. *DLC* Je 20–21 1831; O 16 1832. *MWA* S 22 1830–Mr 21 1832. *N* complete. *NBuHi* S 16 1830–34. *NNHi* (sw) Mr 22, Ap 2, S 24, O 8, 22, N 2, 5, 9, 12, 16, 19, 23, 26, 30, D 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 24, 31 1830; Ja 7, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, 28, F 1, 4, 8, 11, 22, 25, Mr 1, 4, 8, 11, 15, 18, 22, Ap 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19, 29, My 3, 27, Je 3, 24, 28, Jl 5, 15, Ag 2, 23, 26, S 2, 6, O 14 1831; Ja 3, 6, 13, 17, Ag 24, 28, 31, S 4, 7, N 20, 27, D 11, 18 1832; F 12, 26, Ap 26, My 31, Je 4, Jl 12, Ag 2, 13, 20, S 10, O 1, 15, 18, 25, 29, N 5, 8, 15, 19, 26, D 3, 7, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 31 1833; Ja 10, 14, 17, 21, 28, 31, F 7, 14, 28, Mr 18, 21, 28, Ap 1, 4, 22, My 2, 9, 20, 23, Je 10, Jl 8, 18, 25, Ag 12, 19, 26, S 2, 9, 26, O 10, 17, 21, 31, N 14, 21, 25, 28, D 5, 23 1834. *NSchU* Ja 18, F 11 1831; S 22, 24, 29, O 2, 11 1832; O 14–16, 21–24, 27, 30–31, N 1, 4, 6–8, 11–13, 21, 24–29, D 1–3, 5–6, 8, 10, 13, 15–18, 20, 23–24, 26, 30–31 1834. *OClWHi* Ag 2 1831.

[Albany] *National Observer*, 1826–1831.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established May 30, 1826, by George Galpin, Solomon Southwick, Editor. It was semi-weekly Mar. 4, 1829, as *National Observer and Anti-Masonic Pioneer* by Solomon Southwick, Jr. It was a leader of Anti-Masonry from the beginning.

CoD Jl 22 1829. *DLC* Jl 25–D 29 [Ag 18 missing] 1826; Ag 24 1827; (sw) Mr 4 (supp.), Jl 15–22, Ag 11, D 2 1829; D 4 1830; Ja 1–15 1831. *MHi* Ja 11 1828; sw. My 1 1829. *MWA* Ag 8, 25–29, S 5–19, O 24 1826; Ja 12, F 23, Ap 13, Ag 17 1827; F 15 1828. *MnHi* (sw) Ag 21 1829. *N* S 19, N 10 1826; F 9, Mr 23, Ap 6–13, Je 8, Jl 4, 27–D 7 1827; F 8, Mr 4 (extra), 7, Ap 12, Je 20, Ag 22–D 12 1828. *NNHi* F 3, 10, 13, 17, 20, 27, Mr 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 27, 31, Ap 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, My 1, 8, 12, 14, 22, 26, 29, Je 2, 5, 12, 16, 19, 23, 26, 30, Jl 10, 14,

17 1829; Ja 6 1830. *NSchU* Ag 17 1827; Mr 14, Ap 4, 18, Jl 18, Ag 22, N 14, D 5, 12 1828; sw. S 11, 18 1830. *OClWHi* Ag 17 1827; Jl 21 1830; (sw) Mr–S 1829; Ja–Jl 1830.

[Albion] *Orleans Advocate and Anti-Masonic Telegraph,* 1828–1832.

Established in 1825 by Timothy C. Strong as the *Orleans Advocate.* It was united with the *Orleans Whig* in Feb. 1828, when it was given the above title. In Feb., 1829, it became the *Orleans Anti-Masonic Telegraph,* and later, June, 1829, *Orleans Telegraph*; and later the *American Standard.* See Follett, *History of the Press of Western New York,* p. 36. In Mar., 1830, J. Kempshall became proprietor and so continued until Sept., 1832, with the title shortened to *Orleans Telegraph*; when Strong again became editor and changed the name to *Orleans American,* q.v.

N Je 1 1831.

[Albion] *Orleans American,* 1832–1834–.

Established Sept. 5, 1832, by Timothy C. Strong, continuing the *American Standard.* According to Follett, p. 36, it was continued until 1844.

MWA S 12, N 7 1832. *N* Ja 2, 23, F 6, 13, Mr 6, My 8 1833.

[Albion] *Orleans Mercury,* 1832.

Established about May, 1832, by B. F. Cowdery (Franklin Cowdery), according to the *Niagara Courier,* June 12, 1832. No copy located.

[Angelica] *Republican Aegis,* 1830.

Established Oct., 1830, by P[eter] Cherry, according to the *Albany Evening Journal,* Oct. 12, 1830. Title given as *Republican Aegis and Anti-Masonic Democrat,* by the Lyons *Countryman,* Oct. 19, 1830. Probably the paper given in the Anti-Masonic list of 1831 as the *Allegany Republican.* No copy located.

[Auburn] *Cayuga Republican,* –1826–1833.

Established in 1819 (See Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*), with various editors, and printed by Thomas M. Skinner, until May 15, 1833, when it announced its merger with the Auburn *Free Press* of Henry Oliphant, as the *Auburn Journal and Advertiser.* Listed as Anti-Masonic in 1828 by the *LeRoy Gazette,* and included in the list of 1831.

CSmH My 6 1829; S 8 1830. *DLC* Je 24–Ag 4, S 2–23, O 21, N 25, D 23–30 1829; Ja 6–20 1830. *MWA* My 17 1826; My 13 1829; My 25 1831. *N* Mr 28 1827. *NAuHi* –1826–F , Mr 12 1828–My 15 1833. *NNHi* N 16–23 1831; N 21 1832. *P–M* O 10 1832m. *TU* Mr 23 1831–My 15 1833. *WHi* S 1828; My 27 1829.

[Ballston Spa] *Saratoga and Schenectady Standard,* 1832.

A continuation of the *Schenectady and Saratoga Standard,* q.v., by Israel Sackett, judging from the sole issue of May 29, 1832, Vol. 2, No. 20, which is Anti-Masonic.

NSchU My 29 1832.

[Batavia] *Morgan Investigator*, 1827–1828.

Established Mar. 29, 1827, and issued for about a year from the office of the *Republican Advocate* by David C. Miller.

N Mr 29 1827.

[Batavia] *Republican Advocate*,–1826–1834–.

Established by Benjamin Blodgett in 1811. In Apr., 1815, David C. Miller was made a partner, and it was published by B. Blodgett & Co. until after 1820 (Brigham, *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820*). Between then and Apr. 26, 1822, Blodgett dropped out, and it was published by David C. Miller. In 1826 Miller was engaged in printing Morgan's book. At the time of the abduction of Morgan, Miller's printing office was attacked, and he was carried off to LeRoy (See issue of Sept. 15, 1826). Henceforth it was a leader in Anti-Masonic journalism. In Apr., 1828, the business was taken over by Miller's son, Charles W. Miller and Charles Sentell; but on May 8, 1829, Charles W. Miller became sole publisher. In Nov., 1830, ill health forced him to give up active direction of the paper, but his name was carried until Aug. 15, 1831 (Charles W. Miller died Nov. 21, 1831). On Jan. 17, 1832, a new series was begun, published by E. Hough & Co. (E. Hough and Andrew W. Young). Young became sole owner Nov. 13, 1832, and so continued until Apr. 7, 1835. Z. Metcalf served as editor from Apr. 29 to Nov. 18, 1834.

CSmH S 10 1830. *MWA* N 16 1827; Mr 27, My 8, S 11 1829; My 21 1830; O 21 1831. *N* S 29, N 3–10 1826; Mr 23–30, Ap 13, My 25, Jl 30, Ag 31–N 16, 23 1827; F 18, Mr 11, Ap 1, Jl 1, 15, Ag 5, S 16 1834. *NBat* Ja 1826–Ja 26 1827; F 9, Mr 2, 23–30, Ap 20–27, My 4, 25, Je 22–29, Jl 13–O 5, N 9–23, D 14 1827; Ja 11–18, F 8–15, My 16–30, Je 20–27, Ag 29 1828; Ja 2 1829–Mr 26 1830; Ap 9–Je 25, Jl 9–O 1, 15–D 31 1831; Ja 17 1832–D 1834. *NN* S 29 (ex) 1826; Jl 3 1829. *NR* F 2–D 7 1827.

[Bath] *Steuben Messenger*, 1828–1834.

Established Apr. 17, 1828, by David Rumsey, according to French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, p. 620, and successive editors were Samuel M. Eddie, William P. Angel (in 1833), and Charles Adams; and it was continued until 1834, when its name was changed to the *Constitutionalist*. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1831; and the *Albany Evening Journal*, Aug. 27, 1832, noted that it had "come to life again."

N O 16 1833.

Buffalo Patriot,–1826–1834–.

Established July 3, 1821, a continuation of the *Niagara Patriot*, by Hezekiah A. Salisbury. Beginning in Nov., 1827, it was Anti-Masonic. William A. Carpenter was a partner, 1826–1833; and it was edited by Harvey Newcomb, Apr., 1829, to Jan., 1830. Last issues located, to Nov. 26, 1833, gave H. A. Salisbury as proprietor.

CSmH Je 22 1830. *DLC* Ja–F 7, 28–D 6 1826; D 30 1828. *MWA* N 13 1827; Mr 25 1828; Je 23 1829; Je 7 1831; Ja 17 1832; N 26 1833. *N* Ap 10, My 1, 29, N 13, D 11 1832; Ja 15, F 26, Ap 16, My 7, 21, S 3, O 22, N 19 1833. *OClWHi* Jl 18 1826; Ja 23, Je 26, S 11 1827; Ap 15, O 21, N 4, 1828; Ja 13–20, Mr 24, Ap 7, O 27, D 8 1829; D 7 1831.

[Buffalo] *Western Advertiser*, 1827–1828.

Established Dec. 6, 1827, judging from the issue of Feb. 8, 1828, Vol. I, No. 10, by Charles Sentell and Billings Hayward. David C. Miller of Batavia had issued proposals for the establishment of this paper in the *Republican Advocate*, Sept. 1, 1827, but announced Oct. 1, his inability to carry out his plan due to ill health. Sentell was formerly a partner of Miller. The paper was merged with the *Buffalo Patriot*, Mar. 19, 1828.

MWA F 8, Mr 12 1828.

[Canandaigua] *Ontario Freeman*, 1832–1834–.

Established Sept. 5, 1832, by Myron V. Hall as a continuation of the *Ontario Phoenix*, q.v. It was cited as Anti-Masonic by the *Albany Evening Journal*, Sept. 10, 1832. Hall's name was dropped Oct. 16, 1833, and he was succeeded by Allin A. Royce, as printer and publisher, who continued as late as Aug. 27, 1834. Issues in 1835 are published by Robert Royce.

MWA D 5 1832. *N* Ap 17, Je 12, Jl 31 1833; Ja 22, F 5, Jl 30, Ag 20–S 3 1834. *NCanHi* S 5 1832–Ag 27 1834.

[Canandaigua] *Ontario Phoenix*, 1828–1832.

Established Apr. 30, 1828, judging from the issue of June 4, 1828, Vol. I, No. 6, by W. W. Phelps and R. M. Bloomer. With the issue of Dec. 16, 1829, Phelps' name appears alone as editor. The issue of May 11, 1831, contains the valedictory of Phelps, but his name was still carried May 18, 1831. Several newspapers in Aug., 1831, commented upon the late editor, Phelps, as a convert to Mormonism. From Nov. 9, 1831, through Aug. 29, 1832, Myron V. Hall was editor and publisher. The *Ontario Freeman* was its successor as an Anti-Masonic newspaper.

CSmH Ag 4 1830. *MWA* Je 4, Jl 16 1828; Je 16 1830. *N* Mr 2, Je 8, N 16 1831. *NCanHi* D 16 1829; Jl 7 1830–Ag 29 1832.

[Cazenovia] *Republican Monitor*, –1826–1834–.

Established at Morrisville Aug. 27, 1823, by Lewis L. Rice, judging from the issue of Sept. 24, 1823, Vol. I, No. 5, but was removed to Cazenovia in December of that year. The issue of May 10, 1826, was published by J. F. Fairchild; but from May 31 to Oct. 25, 1826, it was by Fairchild and Rice; from Nov. 1, 1826, to July 6, 1830, by J. F. Fairchild; and to Jan. 10, 1832, by John F. Fairchild. From the latter date it was by John F. Fairchild and Son until after 1834. It became Anti-Masonic shortly after the abduction of Morgan; and was so listed in 1828.

CSmH Jl 20 1830. *MWA* N 21–28 1827; O 14, D 2 1828; Mr 10, 24 1829; F 9 1830. *N* N 11–18, D 9, 30 1828; Mr 10, 24, D 30 1829; Mr 24 1830; O 15 1833. *NCaz* My 10 1826–Ag 1832. *NN* Ja 1826–Ag 28 1832; Je 4, 18, Jl 2, S 10, D 24 1833; Ja 7, 14, F 4–18, Mr 11, 25, Je 17, Ag 5–12, 26 1834. *NOnHi* Ap 5 1831.

[Cooperstown] *Tocsin*, 1829–1831.

Established June, 1829, by Dutton and Hewes (Chauncey E. Dutton and William Hewes), as *The Tocsin*, and Anti-Masonic paper. The issue of Sept. 6, 1830, was

published by Chauncey E. Dutton. In Oct., 1830, Henry Hopkins became a partner, and the firm name was Dutton and Hopkins. It was listed in 1831 as Anti-Masonic, and was quoted in the *Albany Evening Journal* as late as Oct. 7, 1831. Some time before Feb. 13, 1832, it became the *Otsego Republican.*

CSmH S 6 1830. *MWA* D 20 1830.

[Cortland] *Anti-Masonic Republican,* 1831–1834–.

Established Aug., 1831, by Rufus A. Reed. A later issue (Oct. 15, 1833), is entitled *Cortland Republican.* Apparently it was continued by Reed until after 1834 (See issue of Jan. 20, 1835).

CtY S 22 1833. *N* Ap 10, O 15 1833. *NHom* Ap 23 1833m; Ja 28 1834m.

[Dansville] *Village Chronicle,* 1830–1833.

Established Apr. 18, 1830, by David Mitchell and Benjamin C. Dennison. In the first year Dennison retired, and it was continued by Mitchell, who changed the title to *Dansville Chronicle, and Steuben and Allegany Intelligencer.* (See article by O. Woodruff, in Bunnell, *Dansville,* p. 185.) The issue of Oct. 16, 1833, however, was entitled *Dansville Chronicle,* by D. Mitchell. It became Anti-Masonic in Apr., 1831, according to the Lyons *Countryman,* Apr. 26, 1831.

N O 16 1833.

[Delhi] *Delaware Republican,* 1830–1832.

Established Sept. 1, 1830, by George Marvine as an Anti-Masonic paper, according to the only copy located, Sept. 8, 1830, Vol. I, No. 2. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1831; and by the *Albany Evening Journal,* Sept. 10, 1832.

CSmH S 8 1830.

Esperance Sentinel, and Schoharie and Montgomery Reporter, 1832–1834–.

Established July, 1832, continuing the *Schoharie Free Press,* q.v., by D. M'Donald (*Albany Evening Journal,* July 20, 1832). According to French's *Gazetteer,* p. 603, it was discontinued in 1835 or 1836. No copy located.

[Geneseo] *Livingston Register,* –1826–1834–.

Established in Moscow, Jan. 8, 1824, by James Percival; but was removed to Geneseo, probably later in that year. According to the *Anti-Masonic Enquirer,* Jan. 5, 1830, Percival "early espoused the cause of the people against Free Masonry." At the end of 1829 it was transferred to Anson M. Weed and Allen Warner, as A. M. Weed & Co. Weed died in the winter of 1831, and his partner continued for a while. James Percival again published the paper in 1831; but in Mar., 1831, it was taken over by Elias Clark, who continued it until 1834. Then it was sold to William H. Kelsey and Richard M. Miel; the latter becoming the sole proprietor in 1835. (See Follett, *Press of Western New York,* p. 38.)

CSmH Ag 18 1830. *MWA* N 18 1829; O 10–17, N 14 1832. *N* Ja 16, Ap 17–My 1, Je 5, 26, O 16, D 25 1833; F 5–12, Mr 12, Je 18, Jl 9, Ag 13 1834.

[Geneva] *Ontario Chronicle*, 1827–1830.

Established Nov. 27, 1827, by Willson & Jackson (George Willson and O. P. Jackson), with A. W. Watkins, printer, with the title *The Chronicle*. In Feb., 1828, Franklin Cowdery replaced Willson, who moved to Canandaigua (*Geneva Gazette*, Feb. 6–13, 1828), and the issue of Apr. 29, 1829, was "By Franklin Cowdery," apparently sole proprietor, and was definitely Anti-Masonic. By the issue of July 22, 1829, the title was changed to *Chronicle of Geneva*. Sometime between Sept. 16 and Nov. 25, 1829, it was again changed to *The Geneva Chronicle*, and so was on Jan. 6, 1830, the last issue located.

DLC Jl 22, Ag 5, S 16, N 25, D 30 1829; Ja 6 1830. *MBAt* S 3 1828. *MWA* Ja 28, Ag 19, S 2, N 25, D 9 1829.

[Geneva] *Independent American*, 1830–1831.

Established July 14, 1830, by Timothy C. Strong, judging from the issue of July 28, 1830, Vol. I, No. 3, as an Anti-Masonic paper. It was still so listed in 1831; although the *Albany Evening Journal*, July 31, 1830, referred to it as the *American Republican*.

CSmH Jl 28 1830.

[Hamilton] *Civilian*, 1830–1831.

Established July 27, 1830, by Laurin Dewey, as an Anti-Masonic paper. It passed into the hands of Lewison Fairchild Feb. 8, 1831, and was suspended late in that year. The last issue located is Nov. 29, 1831.

CSmH Jl 27 1830. *NCaz* Jl 27 1830–N 29 1831. *NN* N 5 1831 (extra).

[Hamilton] *Madison Farmer*, 1828–1829.

Established in Sept., 1828, judging from the issue of Dec. 2, 1828, Vol. I, No. 11, by Nathaniel King (French's *Gazetteer*, p. 389), although no printer's name appeared upon the imprint. Content shows it to be Anti-Masonic. Last number located is Mar. 18, 1829.

MWA Mr 18 1829. *NOnHi* D 3 1828.

[Herkimer] *Republican Farmers' Free Press*, 1830–1834.

Established Feb. 17, 1830, judging from the issue of Apr. 14, 1830, Vol. I, No. 9, by H. S. Bartlett, printer and publisher; Beriah B. Hotchkin, editor. A change of numbering occurred, apparently with the appearance of a new publisher, for the issue of June 16, 1830, Vol. I, No. 2, was published by D[avid] Holt, "for the Proprietors." Hotchkin remained editor as late as July 11, 1832, according to a fragment of an issue of that date discovered in Herkimer. In 1834 according to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 341, it was removed to Little Falls, and became the *Herkimer County Whig*.

CSmH Ag 11 1830. *N* Ap 14, Je 16, N 24 1830; Je 1 (extra), N 23 1831.

[Horse Heads] *Tioga Eagle*, 1831.

Established Aug., 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper, according to the *Albany Evening Journal*, Aug. 20, 1831. No copy located.

[Hudson] *Columbia and Greene County Envoy*, 1830–1831.

Established Aug. 10, 1830, judging from the issue of Sept. 21, 1830, Vol. I, No. 7. It was begun by John C. Johnson, as an Anti-Masonic paper (*Albany Evening Journal*, Sept. 16, 1830), but after the death of Johnson, Sept. 12, 1830, it was continued by Edwin G. Lindsey. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1831.

CSmH S 21 1830.

Ithaca Chronicle, 1830–1834–.

Established Mar. 3, 1830, by David D. and Anson Spencer, as an Anti-Masonic paper; and so continued until after 1834.

CSmH S 8 1830. *NI* Mr 3–S 8, 22 1830–F 23 1831; Mr 2–O 19, N 9–D 14, 28 1831; Ja 4–F 15, Mr 14–D 1832; Ja–Jl 17, 31–N 13, D 4–25 1833; Ja 1–D 31 1834. *NNHi* Ag 7 1830.

Jamestown Journal, 1826–1834–.

Established June 21, 1826, by Adolphus Fletcher, and continued by him until after 1834. For some ten years it was edited by Abner Hazeltine, without his name appearing (Hazeltine, *The Town of Ellicott*, pp. 241–2). It became an early advocate of Anti-Masonry, and was so listed in 1828.

CSmH S 8 1830. *MWA* Ja 16, My 28 1828; S 9 1829. *N* Ag 22 1827; O 16 1833. *NJ* Je 21 1826–1834–.

[Johnstown] *Montgomery County Free Press*, 1829–1830.

Established June, 1829, by Duncan and Daniel McDonald (*Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, June 9, 1829). In June, 1830, it was removed to Schoharie C. H. and was published as the *Schoharie Free Press*, q.v. No copy located.

Keeseville Argus, 1832–1834–.

Established in Aug., 1832, as an Anti-Masonic paper by Adonijah Emons, who had come from Sandy Hill. It was continued until after 1834.

N My 22 1833. *NHi* O 16, 30, N 27 1833.

[Kingston] *Ulster Palladium and Anti-Masonic Journal*, 1829–1833.

Established Jan. 28, 1829, judging from the issue of Mar. 11, 1829, Vol. I, No. 7, a continuation of the Saugerties *Ulster Palladium and Manufacturers Journal*, by the same publishers, P. J. Fish and Calvin Frary. From Feb. 27, 1830, to Mar. 2, 1831, it was published by David L. Bernard, Calvin Frary, printer; then the name of Frary was dropped and the title was simplified to *Ulster Palladium*. On Mar. 23, 1831, Samuel W. Pierce succeeded Bernard as publisher, and on April 13 there was added, "printed by Madison D. Charlott." On June 12, 1833, after an interruption of three weeks, as indicated by volume numbering, it was published by Samuel W. Pierce and R. Tappen, and also on Nov. 27, 1833, the last number located.

CSmH Mr 4 1829; S 8 1830. *DLC* S 27 1832(extra). *MWA* Mr 11 1829; Ag 1, O 31 1832. *N* N 30 1831. *NK* S 29 1830. *NN* Mr 18, Ap 1, 15–My 20, Je 3–10, 24, Jl 8, 22, Ag 12, 26–S 9, O 7, 21, N 11–18, D 2–30 1829. *NNHi* Mr 2, 16–30,

Ap 13, My 11, Je 1, Jl 6, 21–Ag 18, S 1, 15, 22, O 13, 20, N 1, 10–D 15, 29 1830; Ja 5, 19, 26, F 9–Mr 9, 23–Ap 20, My 4, 18, Je 1–22, Jl 13–Ag 31, S 14, 28, O 5, 19–N 30, D 21 1831; Ja 4–F 1, 22, Mr 28, Ap 11–My 2, 16–30, Je 13–27, Jl 18–Ag 15, 29–S 12, 26–O 10, 24–N 7, 28, D 12 1832; Ja 9, 16, F 13–Mr 13, 27, Ap 10–20 (24), My 1–15, Je 12, 26, Jl 3, 17, 27, Ag 7–21, S 11–25, O 9–N 27 1833.

LeRoy Gazette, 1826–1834.

Established Jan. 7, 1826, judging from the issue of Jan. 21, 1826, Vol. I, No. 3, by Jeremiah O. Balch. In Jan., 1827, he disposed of it to Elisha Starr and Beriah B. Hotchkin (See issue of Jan. 11, 1827), who continued it as an Anti-Masonic paper. Hotchkin retired as editor Dec. 1, 1828, and E. Starr was named editor Dec. 25, 1828. In Jan., 1829, Henry D. Ward became associated with Starr in its publication, but he retired in July, 1830, and it was continued by Starr. The last issue located is that of Feb. 6, 1834.

CSmH S 9 1830. *DLC* Ja 7 1830. *MBAt* Ja 12 1832. *MWA* Ja 21 1826. *N* O 11 1827. *NLeG*(publisher) N 8, 22, D 6 1827; Ja 3, Ap 30, My 22, 29, Je 5, 12, Ag 21, S 4, N 6, 20, D 4, 25 1828; F 5, 12, 26, Mr 5–19, My 7–28, Je 4m, 11–25, Jl 2–30, S 24 1829; F 6 1834. *NN* Je 18 1829. *WHi* Ja 11 1827–Ja 3 1828.

[Lockport] *Niagara Courier*, 1828–1834–.

Established May 1, 1828, by Mitchener Cadwallader as an Anti-Masonic paper. In the issue of Dec. 25, 1832, Cadwallader announced his contemplation of a change the first of the year, but it was published by him through 1834.

CSmH Ag 26 1830. *DLC* My 7 1834. N Je 26–Jl 3, Ag 21–S 4, O 9, 23 1828; N 15–22, D 6 1831; F 21, Je 26, O 30, D 18 1832; Ja 23, Mr 20, Ap 17, Ag 7, S 4–11, N 6 1833; Ja 15–29, F 26, Mr 12–Ap 2, My 21–Jl 2, 30, Ag 27, S 3 1834. *NBuHi* My 22 1828–D 1834. *P–M* O 16 1832m.

[Lodi] *Cattaraugus Freeman*, 1830–1834–.

Established in July, 1830 (Lyons *Countryman*, July 13, *Albany Evening Journal*, July 12, 1830), by G. N. Starr as an Anti-Masonic paper. According to the Batavia *Republican Advocate*, Sept. 10, 1833, "after a suspension of a few weeks in order to make the necessary arrangements [it] has appeared in a new dress." The sole issue located, that of Oct. 26, 1833, Vol. I, No. 9, bears the title, *The Cattaraugus Freean* [sic], *and Lodi Messenger*. French's *Gazetteer*, p. 187, although in error on dates, states that it was transferred to Eliakim Hough in 1833, and was continued after 1834.

N O 26 1833.

Lodi Pioneer, 1827–1830.

Established in Sept., 1827, by Lewis B. Edwards, according to the *Buffalo Journal*, Sept. 11, 1827, but it added that "owing to the sickness of the editor we are not to expect the second number of his paper sooner than two or three weeks." In Dec., 1828 (See *Chautauqua Republican*, Dec. 10, 1828), it was transferred to George N. Starr. The *Buffalo Journal*, June 23, 1829, declared, it "has come out anti-masonick at a pretty late hour, and we will lay a wager it has been induced to do so solely to

prevent a new paper of that stamp being established there—for which arrangements were making." In July, 1830, it was succeeded by the *Cattaraugus Freeman*, q.v. No copy located.

[Lowville] *Black River Gazette*, –1826–1833.

Established Oct. 19, 1825, by William L. Easton, and was published by him until Dec. 1, 1830; then operated by Joseph M. Farr until 1833 (See Hough, *History of Lewis County*, p. 285). According to the Lyons *Countryman*, Jan. 25, 1831, it "has hoisted Anti-Masonic colors."

MWA Je 26 1827; Ap 1 1829. *PDoHi* Je 19 1827.

[Lyons] *Countryman*, 1830–1834–.

Established in Jan., 1830, judging from the issue of May 11, 1830, Vol. I, No. 11, by J. A. Hadley. On Sept. 14, 1830 ". . . and Anti-Masonic Recorder," was added to the title. Myron Holley was announced as joint editor and proprietor May 3, 1831, and it was published by Holley and Hadley. It was suspended in Nov., 1831, but it was revived Mar., 1832, under the management of Myron Holley (*Albany Evening Journal*, Mar. 19, 1832). It continued until after 1834, though perhaps with a different title after Oct. 7, 1832, last copy located. (French's *Gazetteer*, p. 689 and Follett, *Press of Western New York*, p. 40.)

CSmH S 14 1830. *MWA* Mr 2 1830; Mr 24 1831. *NLyR*(publisher) My 11, Je 8–D 28 1830; Ja 4–My 3, 17–Je 14 1831. *P–M* O 17 1832m.

[Lyons] *Wayne Republican*, 1833.

Established Apr., 1833, as an Anti-Masonic paper by William H. Child, according to the Batavia *Republican Advocate*, Apr. 9, 1833. No copy located.

[Malone] *Franklin Telegraph*, –1826–1831.

Established Aug. 31, 1820, by Francis Burnap, and continued by him as late as May 21, 1829. Beginning June 11, 1829, it was published by Elias Williams, whose name appears on the last issue located, that of Aug. 26, 1830. Listed as Anti-Masonic in 1830 and 1831.

CSmH Ag 26 1830. *MWA* Ag 13 1829. *NN* N 29 1827. *NNHi* Mr 23–30, Ap 20–Je 1, 15–Jl 6, 20–Ag 3, 17–O 26, N 21, 30, D 21–28 1826; F 8, Ap 26, O 4 1827; D 18 1828; Mr 19, My 21, O 15 1829.

[Monticello] *Sullivan County Herald*, 1832–1834–.

Established Sept., 1832, as an Anti-Masonic paper by Charles C. Smith, according to the *Albany Evening Journal*, Sept. 24, 1832. French's *Gazetteer*, p. 612, gives the date of establishment as 1833 and states that it was published by M. Smith, S. Phelps, and others for about four years. No copy located.

[New York] *Anti-Masonic Beacon*, 1828–1829.

Established in Aug., 1828, edited by David Patterson and published by T. J. M'Connell, according to a prospectus dated July 25, 1828, and published in the *LeRoy Gazette*, Aug. 21, 1828. In Dec., 1828, it "passed into the hands of Mr.

Lewis L. Rice," according to the Cazenovia *Republican Monitor* (formerly Rice's paper), Dec. 16, 1828. Later it was edited by Henry Dana Ward, and was discontinued by him June, 1829, according to the *LeRoy Gazette*, June 11, 1829. No copy located.

[New York] *Anti-Masonic Review and Magazine*, 1828–1830.

Established Nov., 1828, as a monthly magazine by Henry Dana Ward. It is not properly a newspaper; but according to the *Albany Evening Journal*, Mar. 25, 1831, it was united with the *Pilot* to form the *New York Whig*, q.v. Two volumes, 24 numbers, were issued. For holdings see the *Union List of Serials*.

[New York] *Investigator*, 1829.

Edited by Jarvis F. Hanks, according to H. D. Ward in the *Anti-Masonic Review*, Vol. I, No. 12, pp. 370–71; and apparently referred to by him on p. 378, reviewing the Anti-Masonic press, as "one small paper a week circulates to about three hundred of our citizens." No copy located.

New York Pilot, 1830–1831.

Established Mar. 31, 1830, judging from the issue of July 7, 1830, Vol. I, No. 15, with Jarvis F. Hanks as editor. The issue of Sept. 1, 1830, gives "Bradbury & Smith, Printers." French's *Gazetteer*, p. 446, erroneously gives 1831 as the date of establishment, and lists "S. Skinner" as publisher. According to the *Albany Evening Journal*, Mar. 25, 1831, it was united with the *New York Register and Anti-Masonic Review* to form the *New York Whig*, q.v.

CSmH S 1 1830. *MWA* Jl 7, N 24 1830. *NNHi* O 20 1830.

New York Whig, 1831–1834.

Daily, weekly, and semi-weekly. Established May 10, 1831, a continuation of the *Pilot* and *Anti-Masonic Review*. At the end of the first year, May 10, 1832, the daily was discontinued. It was continued as a semi-weekly and weekly to Nov. 13, 1832, and then as a weekly. Published by L. D. Dewey & Co. the first year, with Orville L. Holley and Henry Dana Ward as editors. Ward withdrew as editor and became the proprietor when the daily edition was discontinued. Holley withdrew as editor when the semi-weekly was discontinued; and Ward became editor and proprietor until May 1, 1833, when L. D. Dewey & Co., resumed publication, Ward continuing as "part time" editor. The weekly edition was listed in the New York City directory for 1834–1835, but not thereafter (See L. H. Fox, *New York City Newspapers*, 1821–1850).

Daily: *NNHi* D 30–31 1831; Ja 3–20, 22–27, 29–F 13, 15–26, Mr 1–20, 22–My 2, 5–10 1832.

Semi-weekly: *MWA* Jl 15, Ag 2, S 20–27, O 21–28, N 25–D 2, 9–27 1831. *NN* D 30 1831; Ja 13 1832; F 6 1833. *NNHi* My 22–N 13 1832.

Weekly: *DLC* My 18, Ag 3 1831. *MB* My 18, Je 1 1831–Je 20 1832; Ag 7 1833. *MWA* S 5, O 3 1832; Ag 28, Jl 10, S 11 1833; Ja 4, F 1 1834. *MiU* Ag–D 1831; Ja–My 23, Je 6–20, Jl–Ag 15 1832. *N* O 12 1831; S 19, O 17, D 19–26 1832; Ap 24, O 16 1833. *NjHi* My 11 1831–Jl 10 1833. *NN* Ag 3–10, 24, S 7, 28,

O 12, N 9–D 28 1831; Ja 4–F 15, 29–Mr 7, 21–Je 13, 27–O 10, 24–D 26 1832; Ja 2, 16–Mr 6 1833. *NNHi* N 21 1832–Jl 3 1833.

[Norwich] *Anti-Masonic Telegraph,* 1829–1834–.

Established Apr. 8, 1829, as an Anti-Masonic paper by E. P. Pellett and B. T. Cooke, and continued until after 1834.

DLC Je 17m–24, Jl 22, Ag 5–12, 26–S 2m, 16, O 7–28, N 25–D 2, 23 1829–Ja 6 1830; Ja 19 1831. *N* Ap 8 1829–Mr 30 1831; Ap 3 1833–Mr 26 1834. *NNo* Ap 8 1829–D 1834.

[Ogdensburg] *Northern Light,* 1831–1834.

Established July 7, 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper by W. B. Rogers (See *Albany Evening Journal,* July 11, 1831). In 1834 A. B. James became its publisher and changed the name to the *Times* (French's *Gazetteer,* p. 573). No copy located.

[Oswego] *Free Press,* 1830–1834.

Established Feb. 17, 1830, as an Anti-Masonic paper by Richard Oliphant, and continued until Apr. 16, 1834 (See *History of Oswego County,* 1877, p. 176).

CSmH Ag 25 1830. *MWA* Mr 14 1832. *N* My 30–Je 6, N 28 1832.

Palmyra Freeman, 1828–1829.

Established Mar. 11, 1828, as an Anti-Masonic paper by D. D. Stephenson (See issue of Mar. 18, 1828, Vol. I, No. 2. In Nov., 1828, Stephenson gave up the paper on account of ill health, and it was conducted by Beriah B. Hotchkin (*Ontario Repository,* Nov. 26, 1828). Later it was conducted by J. A. Hadley, who removed the establishment to Lyons, and began the *Countryman,* q.v. (Follett, p. 40).

MBAt S 2 1828. *MWA* Mr 18, Je 10 1828.

[Palmyra] *Western Spectator and Anti-Masonic Star,* 1830–1831.

Established June 7, 1830, judging from the issue of Aug. 11, 1830, Vol. I, No. 10, by Luther Howard, proprietor and publisher, and Erastus Shepard, editor and printer, with the title, *Western Spectator and Wayne Advertiser.* With the issue of Sept. 8, 1830, the title became *Western Spectator and Public Advertiser*; and with the issue of Apr. 12, 1831, the above title was adopted, and it became an avowed Anti-Masonic organ. With the issue of July 14, 1831, Howard's name was dropped and it was published, "For the Proprietor . . . Erastus Shepard, Printer," with the title, *The Spectator & Anti-Masonic Star.* The issue of Aug. 9, 1831, contained the valedictory of Erastus Shepard, declaring this "probably the last number . . . by the subscriber in this place." According to Cowles, *History of Wayne County,* p. 132, it was merged with the Rochester *Anti-Masonic Enquirer,* q.v.

CSmH Ag 11 1830. *MWA* S 8 1830. *N* N 3, D 8–22 1830; Ja 12–26, F 1, Mr 1, Apr 5–19, My 3, Je 7–28, Jl 5, 19, Ag 9 1831. *NCH* Ja 25–Ap 18 1831. *NSchU* Je 30 1830.

Penn Yan Enquirer, 1831–1833.

Established in Jan., 1831, by John Renwick, as a continuation of the *Yates Re-*

publican, q.v., according to the Lyons *Countryman*, Jan. 25 and Feb. 1, 1831. In Dec., 1831, it was published by J. A. Hadley; and the only issue located, that of Oct. 3, 1832, Vol. 2, No. 38, was by Tyler and Fowle. According to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 718, it was discontinued after two years. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1831.

P–M O 3 1832m.

[Penn Yan] *Yates Republican*, –1826–1831.

Established about Dec. 1, 1824, by Edward J. Fowle, and continued by him until Jan., 1831, when he sold it to John Renwick, who changed the name to the *Penn Yan Enquirer*, q.v. The Lyons *Countryman*, Jan. 25, 1831, stated that "Mr. Fowle has for the last three years supported the cause of Anti-Masonry." Although not included in Weed's list of Mar., 1830, it was given in other lists later in that year.

CSmH Ag 3 1830. *MWA* My 4 1830. *NPYF*(W. B. Foshay) D 9 1828–Ja 19 1831.

[Potsdam] *Patriot*, 1830–1831.

Established Apr. 14, 1830, as an Anti-Masonic paper by William Hewes, judging from the sole issue of June 30, 1830, Vol. I, No. 12. According to Munsell's *Typographical Miscellany*, p. 13, it was continued until the spring of 1831, when the press was sold and moved to Ogdensburg. (N.B. This was no doubt the same Hewes who was connected with the Cooperstown *Tocsin*, and the spelling "Hughs" given by Munsel, and listed in the appendix of my book, *The Country Printer*, is incorrect.)

CSmH Je 30 1830.

[Poughkeepsie] *Anti-Mason*, 1831.

Established Jan., 1831, by John M. Vethake (Lyons *Countryman*, Jan. 18, 1831). Stephen Butler was given as a partner by French's *Gazetteer*, p. 268, which also states that it was discontinued in 1831. No copy located.

[Rochester] *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, 1828–1834.

Established Feb. 12, 1828, by Weed and Heron (Thurlow Weed and Samuel Heron) as an Anti-Masonic paper. On Feb. 3, 1829, D. N. Sprague succeeded Heron, the firm name becoming Weed & Sprague. Weed withdrew Mar. 30, 1830, because of his connection with the *Albany Evening Journal*, and the paper was continued by D. N. Sprague. On Sept. 6, 1831, the title became *Antimasonic Enquirer*; and Oct. 25, 1831, it was sold to Erastus Shepard of Palmyra, who became proprietor Nov. 1, 1831, and with that issue the title became *Rochester Antimasonic Inquirer*. Alva Strong became a partner Nov. 6, 1832, and it was published by Shepard & Strong, with the title, *Antimasonic Inquirer*. There were several variations in title in this later period. In 1834, according to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 396, it was merged with the *National Republican*.

CSmH S 7 1830. *DLC* Jl 8–22, Ag 5–26, S 9–29, O 28, N 11 1828. *MWA* Ja 20 1829; My 20 1832. *N* F 12 1828–O 25 1831; O 15 1833. *NBuHi* My 11 1830–My 1 1832. *NN* Ja 10, F 7 1832. *NNHi* Ag 21 1832; F 19, O 8 1833. *NR* Mr 4, 25, Ap 8–Je 3, 17, 24, Jl 8–15, 29, Ag 12, 26–S 2, 30–N 11, D 2 1828; F 10–My 5, S 15 1829–D 24 1833.

Rochester Balance, 1827–1828.

Established in Mar., 1827, as an Anti-Masonic paper by D. D. Stephenson & Co., judging from the issue of Aug. 6, 1827, Vol. I, No. 21. In Jan., 1828, it was transferred to Samuel Heron (issue of Jan. 14, 1828), who was joined in February by Thurlow Weed, and the paper was succeeded by the *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, q.v.

N Ag 6, D 10 1827. *NR* Ja 14–28 1828.

[Sandy Hill] *Free Press*, 1832.

Established in 1832 as an Anti-Masonic paper by Adonijah Emons, according to Johnson, *History of Washington County*, p. 109. In the same year Emons began the *Keeseville Argus*, q.v. No copy located.

[Sandy Hill] *Sun*, 1826–1828.

Established about Jan. 1, 1826, by Adonijah Emons, and continued by him until Dec. 16, 1828, according to the *Saratoga Sentinel*, Dec. 30, 1828. Listed as Anti-Masonic in Sept., 1828.

N S 11 1827. *NNHi* S 21 1826.

Sangerfield Intelligencer, –1826–1833.

A continuation, judging from volume numbers, of the *Civil and Religious Intelligencer*, established in 1816 by Joseph Tenny. It was remarkable for its changes of title. It was the *Sangerfield Intelligencer* in 1823, but by Feb. 20, 1828, reverted to its original title, *Civil and Religious Intelligencer*. The issues Sept. 15 and Nov. 24, 1830, are entitled *Sangerfield Intelligencer and Madison and Oneida Counties Gleaner*. With the issue of Mar. 7, 1832, it is again *Sangerfield Intelligencer*. All of these are by Joseph Tenny. According to Jones, *Annals and Records of Oneida County*, p. 418–19, it was published until 1833, when the printer moved from town; but French's *Gazetteer*, p. 459, gives the date of removal as 1835, when Tenny began a paper in Fabius, Onondaga County. Listed as Anti-Masonic in March, 1830, and in 1831.

CSmH S 15 1830. *MH* F 20 1828; N 24 1830; Mr 7 1832.

Schenectady and Saratoga Standard, 1831.

Established in Jan., 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper by Th[omas] J[efferson] Sutherland. The issue of July 25, 1831, earliest located, gives Sutherland as editor, and Israel Sackett as printer. Later it was removed to Ballston Spa, q.v. Given as the *Schenectady Standard* in the Anti-Masonic list of 1831.

N Ag 22, S 5, 19, O 3 1831. *NSchU* Jl 25, Ag 8–15 1831.

Schoharie Free Press, 1830–1832.

Established June 3, 1830, judging from the issue of Aug. 4, 1830, Vol. I, No. 9, by D[uncan] Macdonald & Co. According to Roscoe, *History of Schoharie County*, p. 81, it "was originally published in Johnstown, Fulton county, as the *Montgomery Monitor* and removed to Fonda, Montgomery county, in 1828, thence to Canajoharie, and in 1830 to Schoharie. Being of roving disposition, it removed to Esperance

and published as the *Esperance Sentinel and Schoharie and Montgomery Recorder*, q.v. It was given as Anti-Masonic in lists of 1830 and 1831.

CSmH Ag 4 1830.

Seneca Falls Advertiser, 1831.

Established in Jan., 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper by John Catlin, according to the Lyons *Countryman*, Feb. 1, 1831. Probably absorbed by the *Seneca Farmer*, q.v. in August, 1831. No copy located.

Seneca Falls Journal, 1829–1831.

Established Aug., 1829, judging from the issue of Aug. 25, 1830, Vol. 2, No. 1, by O[rsamus] B. Clark (See also, *Chronicle of Geneva*, Sept. 2, 1829), as an Anti-Masonic paper. According to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 614, it was continued two years and then sold (1831) to W. N. Brown, who published it one year, and then joined a partnership with William Child, merging it (1832) with the *Seneca Farmer and Seneca Falls Advertiser*, q.v. According to the Lyons *Countryman*, Feb. 1, 1831, it was succeeded by the *Seneca Falls Advertiser*, q.v. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1830 and 1831.

CSmH Ag 25 1830.

[Seneca Falls] *Seneca Farmer and Seneca Falls Advertiser*, 1831–1834–.

A continuation of the Waterloo *Seneca Farmer*, q.v., which was removed to Seneca Falls in Aug., 1831, by William Child as an Anti-Masonic paper. According to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 614, it absorbed the *Seneca Falls Journal* in 1832, and was continued by William Child until 1835; but the issue of Oct. 23, 1833, Vol. XI, No. 14, is by John H. Child, and is Anti-Masonic.

Skaneateles Telegraph, 1829–1831.

Established July 28, 1829, by William H. Child, and edited by B. B. Drake (*Cortland Observer*, Aug. 7, 1829). In Jan., 1830, Drake withdrew, according to the *Cortland Observer*, Jan. 29, 1830, and it was under the sole control of Child. The *Onondaga Register*, Oct. 13, 1830, noted that it was offered for sale; but the Lyons *Countryman*, Apr. 19, 1831, stated that it was formerly neutral but now became Anti-Masonic, and it was included in the Anti-Masonic list of that year. Bruce, *Onondaga's Centennial*, II, pp. 996–7, states that it was succeeded by the *Skaneateles Columbian* in the spring of 1831. No copy located.

[Syracuse] *Onondaga Republican*, 1830–1834.

Established Mar. 3, 1830, judging from the issue of Mar. 24, 1830, Vol. I, No. 4, as an Anti-Masonic paper. Earliest issues located are by Sweet and Campbell, although J. H. V. Clark, *Onondaga*, II, p. 93, says it was established by W. S. Campbell. The issue of Apr. 28, 1830, was by W. S. Campbell. Beginning with the issue of Jan. 26, 1831, it was published by Campbell and Newton, as was also the last issue located, that of Feb. 9, 1831. It was included in the Anti-Masonic list of 1831; and according to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 475, continued until 1834, when it was turned over to J. B. Clark & Co., and became the *Constitutionalist.*

CSmH S 1 1830. *MWA* Je 9 1830. *NSyU* Mr 24 1830–F 9 1831. *P–M* O 10 1832m.

[Troy] *Daily News*, 1830.

Established Mar. 1, 1830, as an Anti-Masonic paper, published daily by J[ohn] C. Johnson & Co. The prospectus, Vol. I, No. 1, said that it would be "a morning paper, to be published in the city of Troy for three months." Apparently it was not long continued.

ICHi Mr 1 1830.

[Troy] *Northern Watchman*, 1830–1832.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established Feb. 22, 1830, by J[ohn] C. Johnson as an Anti-Masonic paper, published semi-weekly "for one quarter," according to the first number; but in Vol. I, No. 2, it was changed to a weekly. The issue of Aug. 24, 1830, gave in addition the name of John B. Johnson as proprietor. John C[ooley] Johnson died Sept. 12, 1830, and the publication of the paper was assumed by Dr. John H. Carpenter. The issue of Oct. 5, 1830, gave "Dr. John H. Carpenter, Editor, E. Wellington, Printer." The issue of Mar. 1, 1831, however, was by "John H. Carpenter, Editor and Publisher." Perhaps due to interruptions the first volume was completed (No. 52) Apr. 12, 1831. With the beginning of the second volume, Apr. 26, 1831, the title became *Troy Watchman*, edited by Allen Fisk. With Vol. II, No. 2, the title became *The Troy Watchman*, issued semi-weekly, edited by Fisk and printed by E. Wellington. According to later issues both weekly and semi-weekly editions were printed. July 30, 1831, it was "printed and published . . . by Allen Fisk." Nov. 19, 1831, it was printed by Moore & Pelton "for Allen Fisk;" but Nov. 26, 1831, it was "printed . . . by Allen Fisk." Jan. 2, 1832, it was published by Allen Fisk, who was the editor, with J. W. Moore as printer. According to the *Albany Evening Journal*, June 15, 1832, the establishment passed into the hands of Thomas J. Sutherland, who apparently changed the name to *The Statesman*.

CSmH Ag 24 1830. *ICHi* F 22 1830–Ja 16 1832. *MBAt* My 3 1831. *MWA* Ja 9 1832.

[Trumansburg] *Anti-Masonic Sentinel*, 1829.

Established Feb. 5, 1829, by Reuben St. John, according to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 655, and continued a few weeks. No copy located.

[Trumansburg] *Lake Light*, 1827–1829.

Established Oct. 15, 1827, judging from the issue of Nov. 12, 1827, Vol. I, No. 5, by Phelps & Bloomer (W. W. Phelps and R. M. Bloomer) as an Anti-Masonic paper. By the issue of May 28, 1828, Vol. I, No. 33, it was by St. John and Clark (Reuben St. John and Orsamus B. Clark). A notice in this issue dated May 7, 1828, announced the dissolution of the partnership of Clark and Bloomer, by whom it had been published. No later issues have been located, but according to Peirce and Hurd, *History of Tioga, Chemung, and Tompkins Counties*, p. 234, it was published later by St. John alone until February, 1829.

MWA N 12 1827; My 28 1828.

[Union Village] *Anti-Masonic Champion*, 1829–1830.

Established Mar. 4, 1829, with Laurin Dewey as editor. The issue of May 21, 1829, announced the dissolution of the partnership of Dewey and J. P. Patterson in the publication of the *Champion*; and later in the month Patterson began the *Union Village Courant* to oppose Anti-Masonry (*Troy Budget*, May 18, 1830). Some time before Oct. 14, 1829, publication was begun by P. S. Mills & Co., L. Dewey, Editor, and so continued to the end of the year. With the issue of July 28, 1830, the last located, it was published by Mills and Lansing (Wendell Lansing), with no editor given. In the following year it was succeeded by *The Banner*, q.v.

CSmH Jl 28 1830. *CoD* O 14, 28–D 9, 23, 30 1829. *MH* D 9, 16 1829. *NNHi* My 21m, O 21, 28, N 18, 25, D 2–9, 23–30 1829.

[Union Village] *Banner*, 1831–1834.

Established Jan. 4, 1831, judging from the issue of May 31, Vol. I, No. 22, by W[endell] Lansing & Co., and noted in the *Albany Evening Journal*, Jan. 8, 1831. Dr. H. Corliss was given as one of the proprietors by the Hamilton *Civilian*, Jan. 3, 1831. In 1832, Jan. 10 through May 8 it was published by Lansing and [Edwin] Wilmarth, but after June 1, 1832, by Lansing alone, and so through July 15, 1834, the last number located.

N My 31, Je 7, Jl 5, 19, 26, Ag 9–23, S 13–27, O 11–18, N 8, 15, 29, D 13 1831; Ja 10m, 21, F 7, 28, Ap 17–My 8, Je 26, Jl 10, 31, Ag 7, 14, 28, S 17, O 23, N 20, D 18 1832; Ja 8–29, F 12, Mr 5, 26, Je 4, S 24, O 1, D 3, 17, 31 1833; Ja 7–21, F 4, 11, Ap 8, My 13, 27, Je 3, 17, Jl 15 1834.

[Utica] *Elucidator*, 1829–1834.

Established Jan. 9, 1829, as an Anti-Masonic paper, B. B. Hotchkin, Editor and Proprietor—Northway & Porter, Printers. On Feb. 16, 1830, William Williams became proprietor and printer in place of Northway & Porter, and Hotchkin remained as editor. After Jan. 1, 1833, the name of Hotchkin was dropped, and with the issue of Mar. 26, 1833, Samuel P. Lyman became editor. After the issue of Feb. 18, 1834, Williams's name disappeared as publisher, and only the name of the editor remained until May 6, 1834, the last number located. According to French's *Gazetteer*, p. 459, it was united with the *Oneida Whig* in 1834.

CSmH S 14 1830; F 21 1832. *N* Mr 20, Je 5–12, O 2, N 20, D 4 1832; Mr 26, Ap 16, Je 18, S 10, O 1, D 17 1833; Ja 14, Mr 4, 11, 25, Ap 1 1834. *NCH* Jl 10, Ag 7, S 18–25, O 16, N 13, D 4 1832. *NNHi* Ja 8 1830–D 27 1831. *NU* D 17 1833. *NUHi* Ja 9 1829; Ja 8–D 28 1830; Ja 18, F 1, 22, Ap 26, My 3, 24, Je 7–Ag 2, S 27–N 29, D 20–27 1831; Ja 3–F 14, 28, Mr 13, 27, Ap 10, 17, My 1, 29, Je 5, 19–Jl 17, 31, Ag 7, 28–S 11, O 2, 9, 23, 30, N 20, D 4–25 1832; Ja 1–D 24 1833; Ja 7–F 18, Mr 11–Ap 8, 29, My 6 1834. *P–M* F 19 1833m.

[Walden] *Republican Banner*, 1831.

Established in June, 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper according to the *Albany Evening Journal*, June 11, 1831. French's *Gazetteer*, p. 502, says it continued several years. No copy located.

Warsaw Sentinel, 1830–1831.

Established May 20, 1830, as an Anti-Masonic paper edited by J. Goodrich. The issue of Aug. 12, 1830, Vol. I, No. 13, was by A[ndrew] W. Young, who continued it, according to Follette, *Press of Western New York*, p. 53, until Dec., 1831, when he purchased the Batavia *Republican Advocate*, q.v., and merged the *Sentinel* with it.

CSmH Ag 12 1830.

[Waterford] *Anti-Masonic Recorder*, 1829–1830.

Established May 20, 1829, judging from the issue of June 17, 1829, Vol. I, No. 5, by J. C. Johnson. In June, 1830, it became the *Saratoga Recorder and Anti-Masonic Democrat*, q.v.

CoD Je 17–S 29, O 13, 27 1829. *NNHi* Jl 28, S 29, O 20, D 1 1829.

[Waterford] *Saratoga Recorder and Anti-Masonic Democrat*, 1830–1831.

Established June 8, 1830, judging from the issue of Aug. 31, 1830, Vol. I, No. 13, by Sackett & Jehan (Israel Sackett and D. Jehan). In the issue of Oct. 12, 1830, J. Haxtun is given as editor. Last issue located is Nov. 9, 1830, but it was listed as Anti-Masonic in 1831.

CSmH Ag 31 1830. *NNHi* O 12–N 9 1830.

[Waterloo] *Seneca Farmer and Waterloo Advertiser*, –1826–1831.

Established Aug. 6, 1823, by William Child as the *Seneca Farmer*. Between Dec. 21, 1825, and Feb. 15, 1826, it changed its title as above. From Nov. 1, 1826, to Jan. 17, 1827, it was operated by William H. Child, son of William Child, as an Anti-Masonic paper. It was then published by H. G. Merrell & Co. (Hiram G. Merrell and William Child) from Sept. 19, 1827, to Mar. 19, 1828, when publication was resumed by William Child. Last issue located is that of July 20, 1831; but it was given in the list of Anti-Masonic papers in Aug., 1831.

NWa-o(Waterloo) F 15 1826–Jl 20 1831.

[Watertown] *Anti-Masonic Sun*, 1830.

Established June 22, 1830, judging from the issue of Aug. 17, 1830, Vol. I, No. 10, by Enoch Ely Camp, a continuation of the *Watertown Censor*, q.v. It was succeeded in Dec., 1830, by the *Constellation*, q.v.

CSmH S 7 1830. *NWaHi* Ag 17 1830.

Watertown Censor, 1829–1830.

A continuation of the Adams *Censor*, q.v. According to Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 374, it was published at Watertown by Theron Parsons from Jan. 27, 1829, to June 8, 1830, when Enoch Ely Camp was announced as editor. The removal, however, was not made until Mar., 1829, according to the Adams *Censor*, Mar. 17, 1829; and in the issues of Apr. 13 and May 18, 1830, Abner Morton was the publisher. It was succeeded by the *Anti-Masonic Sun*, q.v.

MWA Mr 17 1829; Ap 13 1830m. *NWaHi* My 18 1830.

[Watertown] *Constellation*, 1830–1831.

Established Dec. 14, 1830, judging from the only issue located, that of May 17, 1831, Vol. I, No. 23, with B. Goodale, proprietor, and D. D. Stephenson, printer, as an Anti-Masonic paper, a continuation of the *Anti-Masonic Sun*. According to Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 374, it was begun Dec. 13, 1830, and continued for thirty-nine weeks, when it was succeeded by the *Jefferson Reporter*, q.v. It was listed as Anti-Masonic in Aug., 1831.

NWaHi My 17 1831.

[Watertown] *Independent Republican and Anti-Masonic Recorder*, 1828–1830.

Established May 17, 1828, judging from the only issue located, that of Dec. 6, 1828, Vol. I, No. 30, by Seth A. Abbey, who earlier had published the *Independent Republican* (1819–1826). According to Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 372, it was continued until 1830. It was succeeded by the *Watertown Censor*, q.v.

MWA D 6 1828.

[Watertown] *Jefferson Reporter*, 1832–1834.

A continuation of the *Constellation*, printed by Abner Morton. Only issue located is that of Dec. 25, 1832, Vol. II, No. 16. According to Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 374, it was published by Morton from Sept. 11, 1832, until Jan. 21, 1834, when he moved westward with his press.

NWaHi D 25 1832.

[Westfield] *American Eagle*, 1831–1833.

Established Nov. 1, 1831, as an Anti-Masonic paper by George W. Newcomb, who bought out the interest of James Hull in the *Chautauque Phenix*, q.v. (See issue of Nov. 15, 1831, Vol. I, No. 3). It was succeeded on Oct. 10, 1833 (Vol. I, No. 1), by the *Westfield Courier*, of George W. Bliss, who, according to the Forestville *Western Intelligencer*, Oct. 17, 1833, intended to "treat the subject of Anti-Masonry *mildly*."

N N 15 1831. *OClWHi* My 7 1833.

[Westfield] *Chautauque Phenix*, 1828–1831.

Established Oct. 3, 1828, as an Anti-Masonic paper by Hull and Newcomb (James Hull and Harvey Newcomb). The valedictory of Harvey Newcomb appeared Apr. 15, 1829; but the same partnership appeared at the masthead until the end of the third volume, Oct. 1831. It was succeeded by the *American Eagle*, q.v., by George W. Newcomb, who purchased the interest of Hull.

CSmH Jl 27 1830. *MWA* Je 22 1830; My 17–24 1831. *N* Ja 27–F 3 1830. *NFre* D 28 1830. *NJ* O 3–D 11, 25–31 1828; Ja 7–N 4, 18, D 2 1829; Ja 6–Ap 13, 27–D 28 1830; Ja 1–Ag 17, S 14–N 16, 30–D 7 1831.

[Westfield] *Western Star*, 1826–1828.

Established June 3, 1826, by Harvey Newcomb. It became Anti-Masonic in Feb.,

1828 (See issue of Feb. 15), but was soon discontinued. The last issue located is that of May 30, 1828, and according to the *Jamestown Journal*, Sept. 3, 1828, it was "suppressed by the Masons."

MWA F 8 1828. *N* Je 3–Jl 29 1826. *NJ* Je 10–1826–My 30 1828.

Whitehall Republican, 1827–1829.

Established Oct. 9, 1827, as a Republican paper by C. P. Broadwell. He published it into the following year, but the issue of Oct. 28, 1828, contained an offer to sell by "the proprietors." On Jan. 6, 1829, it was issued with new volume numbering by J. Ketchum Averill as an Anti-Masonic paper, and was apparently discontinued that year. It is not in Weed's list of Mar., 1830. Last number located is Feb. 3, 1829.

CSmH O 9 1827. *Ct* O 18 1828; Ja 13 1829. *MWA* F 3 1829. *N* O 9 1827. *NN* Ag 5 1828.

A NEWLY-DISCOVERED OXFORD BOOK

By MARIAN HARMAN

THE University of Illinois Library has recently acquired what seems to be an extremely rare edition of Theophrastus' *Characters*, printed by John Lichfield for Henry Cripps at the Oxford Press in 1628. Until 1905, the earliest known English edition of this work was that of 1638, containing both the Greek text and a Latin translation. In 1905, however, the Bodleian Library bought, for £10, an edition of the Greek text alone, printed by J. Barnes in 1604, the only copy of that date known to exist even to this day. A rumor, unconfirmed in actuality, and unheeded, has long been maintaining, on excellent contemporary authority, the existence of a 1628 edition. This authority is the diary of Thomas Crosfield, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, from 1618 to about 1640, a record of the period from January 1626 to January 1640 and from February 1653 to February 1654, existing only in manuscript in the Library of Queen's College, until 1935, when it was published in part by Frederick S. Boas. In this diary, under date of 1629–[30] Crosfield transcribes a list of "the names of such bookes as were printed in Oxōn two or three yeares before this present yeare of our Lord, 1630, by...Lichfield."[1] There are fourteen titles, the twelfth of which is, "Theophrastus *Characters*." In his

[1] Crosfield, Thomas. *The diary of Thomas Crosfield . . . ed. by Frederick S. Boas.* London, 1935, p. 38. The same list is found in *The works of the most reverend father in God, William Laud*, v. 5. Oxford, 1853, p. 254, note t, where Crosfield's diary is acknowledged as the source.

note[2] on this list, Boas has identified each book, supplying imprint dates ranging from 1628 to 1630, except the Theophrastus, with regard to which he can only remark: "An edition was printed by J. Barnes in 1604." But J. Barnes is not John Lichfield, nor is 1604 very near 1628.

Even Madan is totally ignorant of the existence of a 1628 edition of the *Characters*, although he is acquainted with Crosfield's list, his observation in that connection being, "Can this refer to the Oxford edition of 1604?"[3] He is so doubtful about an edition having been published actually in 1628 that, in his note on the 1604 edition, he declares, "The next English edition (in Greek and Latin) was London, 1638, and there are Oxford editions of 1670, 1680, 1707, etc."[4]

It would seem, then, that the University of Illinois copy represents the printing of which Crosfield speaks. Its description is as follows: ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΗΘΙΚΟΙ / ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ. / THEOPHRASTI NOTATI- / ONES MORUM. / [vignette: Device of the arms of the University of Oxford.][5] / OXONIÆ / Excudebat Iohannes Lichfield propter / Henricum Cripps. 1628. 19.4 cm. Pp. [20], signatures: 2 leaves unsigned, A-D^2. First leaf blank, recto of second leaf: title-page, with head-piece. At the end of the text are the words: *τέλος σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ.*

I know of only one other copy of this little book, that in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, in Paris (Cote 14,330).[6] In a special

[2] Id. p. 121.

[3] Madan, Falconer. *Oxford books*, v. 2. Oxford, 1912, p. 116 (after no. 668).

[4] Id. p. 51 (no. 259).

[5] McKerrow, R. B. *Printers' and publishers' devices in England and Scotland*, 1485–1640. London, 1913, no. 408.

[6] I am indebted for this information to Dr. Aubrey Diller, of Indiana University, who was kind enough to search both the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Mazarine for this title. The copy in the Mazarine described by him is identical with that at the University of Illinois. I am grateful also to Dr. Rudolf Juchhoff, Abteilungs-

book-list dated January 25, 1939, F. Norman (from whom the University of Illinois bought its copy) lists the 1628 Theophrastus with the following comment: "No copy listed in S.T.C. which lists a single copy of an edition of 1604. I should not be surprised if this was not that very edition with a new title-page." But a comparison of the 1628 edition with Madan's description of that of 1604[7] reveals too many differences to permit the acceptance of Norman's conjecture. It is true that both have the same number of pages, but the 1604 edition is described as a small quarto, with signatures: A-B^4, C^2; (A1^r, title; A2^r-C2^r, Greek text). The only known copy is doubly interleaved; signature B1^r begins πάνυ δὲ, while the same signature of the 1628 edition begins καὶ τοῦτο.

How is the scarcity of this Oxford publication to be accounted for? One can only conjecture. Collation of the text with a copy of the third edition of Casaubon (Bruns. 1659, first published in 1612) establishes the identity of the two. It is well known that this edition was reprinted many times and that all subsequent editions were based on this original and its reimpressions;[8] but I can find no instance of a seventeenth-century English edition without a Latin translation, or at least a commentary, except, of course, that of 1604. It has been suggested[9] that the 1604 edition was kept back with the intention of adding the Latin translation — a plan which was never carried out. This sounds plausible and may perhaps explain the almost complete disappearance of the 1628 edition also. But there is still another possibility:

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direktor of the Auskunftsbüro der Deutschen Bibliotheken, for his careful checking of the libraries in the Deutsches Reich. He reports no copy of the 1628 Oxford Theophrastus.

[7] Id. p. 51 (no. 259).

[8] Watt, Robert. *Bibliotheca britannica*, v. 2. Edinburgh, 1824, p. 902, d-e.

[9] Voynich, W. M. *Thirteenth catalogue*. London, May, 1905, quoted by Madan, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 51 (no. 259).

Casaubon's third edition of the *Characters* was an accepted part of the curriculum in the English schools.[10] Anyone who has ever attempted to collect the school-books used at any particular period knows how very difficult it is to recover examples of them. Text-books have a way of disappearing more readily than books that are read for pleasure or from self-inspired interest, and nothing is easier than for a small Greek text of only twenty pages, containing not a single word of English, or even of Latin, except on the title-page, to perish from sheer neglect.

[10] *Cf.* Bywater, Ingram. *Four centuries of Greek learning in England.* Oxford, 1919, pp. 11 and 14.

The University of Illinois Library

REVIEW

Index to supplements to the Geographical Journal. Recent geographical literature supplements, volumes I–IV, numbers 1–41: 1918–1932. Compiled by order of the Council; edited by the LIBRARIAN. London: Royal Geographical Society, 1936. Pp. 469.

The *Index to Supplements to the Geographical Journal* indexes the bibliographical entries in the *Supplement to the Geographical Journal. Recent Geographical Literature, Maps, and Photographs Added to the Society's Collection* from the date of its first appearance as a separate item (June, 1918) to 1932. Before 1918 *Recent Geographical Literature* appeared as a part of the *Geographical Journal*, was bound with the *Journal* and was indexed in the *General Index* to the *Geographical Journal* and its succeeding issues. The present index, referred to as the *Index to Supplements*, does not include maps and photographs, but atlases are listed and all geographical literature except a few minor articles.

The decision to issue *Recent Geographical Literature* separately, in a limited edition, "The lists to be sent free to such Fellows of the Society as signify to the Secretary their wish to receive them, and also to all institutions with which an exchange of publications is maintained" has resulted in many institutions not having acquired the supplements. Institutions which would make an effort to fill any existing gap in their *Geographical Journal* have overlooked or ignored the *Journal's* important supplement since it ceased to be received automatically with the subscription to the *Journal*.

The *Index to Supplements* contains approximately one hundred thousand entries. Each item has its author entry and one subject entry. The absence of title entries is of practically no importance because the kind of item indexed is, almost without exception, titled in such a specific manner that subject and title are synonymous. In the author entries the forenames have been given in full only when necessary to avoid confusion of authors having the same name and initials. Titles have been abbreviated to a bare minimum. Subject headings do not follow any certain pattern of division and sub-division but are included according to the particular demands of the individual subject and the number of entries under the heading.

Typographically the *Index to Supplements* is superior to the indexes to the *Geographical Journal* itself; for while the *Fourth General Index* to

the *Geographical Journal* was an improvement over the earlier *General Index* to the *Geogaphical Journal* in its employment of small capitals and italics instead of symbols for certain connotative values, it lost by substituting large capitals for bold-faced lower case place names and in its employment of four indentions of varying significances — four indentions within the space of three-eighths of an inch. The resumption of Roman numerals for volume number seems desirable. The *Index to Supplements* continues the Society's practice of giving author as well as title under subject headings. Unfortunately this is by no means an invariable rule with geographical indexing. The judicious revision and generous addition of sub-headings under necessarily large heads is an improvement and further mitigates the loss suffered through short title usage.

The inclusion of distinguishing symbols or typographical differentiation would save endless labor for the searcher employing the *Index to Supplements* as even a moderately selective implement. The arrangement of *Geographical Literature of the Month; Additions to the Library* (included in the body of the *Geographical Journal*) was pleasantly simple, entailing a minimum of effort on the part of the user. Then, approaching from the subject "Ophir," and under this, alphabetically by title, "Gold of Ophir, whence brought and by whom?" A. H. Keane, XIX. 361 §, 409, 495.", the entry resolved itself into a rather full description: volume nineteen, reviewed or analyzed on page 361, a bibliographical entry in *Geographical Literature of the Month*, further information (in this instance a second review). Still another symbol signified a paper or long article in the *Geographical Journal*. This was a satisfying form for the selective user. Those who are convinced that a good bibliography must have a peculiar spirit or character, and that even an index must at least be in sympathy with the work it indexes, will delight in the marriage of the *Geographical Journal* and its *General Indexes*. This same sympathetic treatment is evidenced in the present *Index to Supplements*.

An entry in the *Index to Supplements* refers to the volume and page in the *Supplement*. In the case of a book which is reviewed in the *Geographical Journal*, besides having been entered in the *Supplement*, there is no cross-reference nor any indication that such a review exists, thus necessitating use of the indexes to the *Geographical Journal*, which might well have been used in the first place on the assumption that the really important works would, sooner or later, be reviewed.

The chronological arrangement of items under subject divisions is a distinct advantage when approaching from subject. The relatively small

number of entries under each of these well-chosen subdivisions makes the sacrifice of the earlier alphabetical-by-title arrangement negligible. The two columns on each page are well separated, allowing each subdivision to present a small rectangle, sometimes a square, seldom more, of clear, well-leaded type which the eye may exploit at a glance. The entry "New J–: A. Bowen, IV. 154" readily resolves itself into "New Japan, by A. Bowen, 1932." The advantage of knowing a work to be the latest cited is obvious.

Under author in the *Index to Supplements* are given the short title and the reference "IV. 154." On page 154 of this volume four of the *Supplement* there is an alphabetical arrangement by place, and to facilitate location of entry, the right margin offers in bold-face type the surname of the author. The bibliographical entry is full, giving author, place, publisher, date, size (in inches), number of pages and other information, in the case of the entry used here as an example, map and illustrations, the illustrator's name, price and acquisition note.

The *Index to Supplements* as a bibliographical tool when used in conjunction with *Bibliographie Geographique Internationale* is interesting and of infinite value. For instance if we wish to find recent material on the Hudson Bay Region, the following steps may be taken: 1. *Index to Supplements* with its chronological arrangement under subject offers "*H— B— Region:* F. H. Kitto, III, 322." as one of the most recent entries. 2. This leads to the *Supplement to the Geographical Journal* entry "*The Hudson Bay Region.* By F. H. Kitto. Ottowa: Dept. of Interior, 1929. Size 9 x 8, pp. 50. *Illustrations and maps.*" This is all we find. But turning to the introductory note at the beginning of the *Index to Supplements*, there will be found a relation-list of "*Recent Geographical Literature*" and B. G. I. The annual index to B. G. I. makes the entry readily available and gives the added information "C.[ompte] r.[endu] Scottish G. Mag., XLV, July 15, 1929, p. 235-237."

There still is no reason to question the continued validity of John Kirtland Wright's statement in his *Aids to Geographical Research* which claims that ". . . one may test the value of any geographical bibliography by noting the extent and character of its references to periodicals as well as to books." The *Index to Supplements* is a guide to much material that is still in periodical form only. The extent to which the *Index to Supplements* covers periodical material is great, but before any opinion as to its relative value as a periodical index is formed, it would seem best to remember that over one-half of the geographical periodicals listed in Ulrich's

Periodicals Directory are indexed in one or more of ten periodical indexes, besides in most cases indexing themselves. A check of Ulrich's list will show that it includes about three-fourths of the periodicals stressed by Wright as being of particular importance; other lists bear this out.

Under "Geography," subdivision "Bibliography," Ulrich lists only six items. Four of these are among the five great repertories of current geographical bibliography offered by Wright. Ulrich's fifth is *Recent Geographical literature, maps and photographs added to the society's collection. (Supplement to: Geographical Journal)*. The *Supplement* deserves its place along with such exalted company, and the *Index to Supplements* is a welcome aid in using the *Supplements*.

The value of the *Index to Supplements* to any institution already owning the *Supplement* is evident. To institutions possessing B. G. I., or kindred serials not having issued cumulated indexes recently, the *Index to Supplements* will prove valuable in proportion to their need of such material, their present geographical holdings and the bibliographical aids in geography already possessed — not failing to remember the indexing done by works not exclusively devoted to geography. The entries in the *Index to Supplements* are not full enough to allow for comprehensible quotation directly from its pages, so that while the admitted value of simply knowing that a work exists is available through the pages of the *Index to Supplements*, it is not quotable without recourse to some other work, preferably the *Supplement* itself.

William H. Jesse

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VOLUME THIRTY-ONE · 1937
PART ONE

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